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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

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One, Two or Three Worlds?
An Editorial

British Labor's First Year
By Eric Fenn

Protestant Localism
By Charles Clayton Morrison

Herbert Hoover—Voice of America's Conscience
An Editorial

Our Debt to the Japanese Evacuees
By Galen M. Fisher

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In This Issue

ERIC FENN

is one of the editors of the Student Christian Movement Press in England, and has been closely associated with Dr. J. H. Oldham in the work of the Oxford conference of 1937 and subsequent enterprises. For a time he was assistant religious director of the British Broadcasting Corporation. A graduate of Cambridge, Mr. Fenn is a Presbyterian minister. He is also, as his article makes clear, a member of the Labor party, whose accomplishments during the first year of the Attlee government he summarizes.

GALEN M. FISHER

has taken a leading part since the outbreak of the war in rousing public opinion on the Pacific coast to demand just treatment for the Japanese-Americans evacuated from that region. Several times during the war he wrote articles for The Christian Century describing developments in the relocation centers and in the legal and social questions growing out of the mass dislocations. In this issue Dr. Fisher closes this important service by showing how many issues of justice have been left unsettled, even though the Japanese-Americans—with the exception of the small group still held at Tule Lake—are now free to seek permanent homes. Dr. Fisher's address is 11 El Sueno, Route 2, Orinda, Calif.

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON

is the editor of The Christian Century.

To Our Readers

The publishers desire to thank our readers for their patience and understanding in the face of the inescapable delays in printing and mailing caused by recent power shortages in the Chicago area. They trust that by next week normal publishing operations will be fully restored.

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May 29, 1946

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Calendar of Coming Events

May 29. United Presbyterian General Assembly, Tarkio, Mo.
June 1-8. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Drake University, Des Moines.
June 2. Diamond Jubilee Celebration, Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill.
June 3-8. Methodist Student Leadership Training Conferences, Lake Junaluska, N. C.; Norman, Okla.
June 3-8. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Austin, Tex.
June 5-14. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Friends University, Wichita, Kan.
June 6-Sept. 6. Seminar on Church Work in Industrial Communities, Detroit.
June 7-9. Congress of Racial Equality Convention, Cleveland.
June 9. Pentecost.
June 10-15. Methodist Student Leadership Training Conference, Leesburg, Ind.
June 10-19. Methodist Youth Caravan Training Centers, Lake Junaluska, N. C.; Abilene, Tex.
June 11-16. Lutheran Augustana Synod Annual Convention, Duluth, Minn.
June 11-18. Norwegian Lutheran Church of America Convention, Minneapolis.
June 12-14. Finnish Suomi Lutheran Convention, Hancock, Mich.
June 12-16. Lutheran Free Church Convention, Fargo, N. D.
June 12-16. Church of the Brethren Annual Conference, Wenatchee, Wash.
June 12-22. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Reed College, Portland, Ore.
June 13-15. Lutheran Regional Welfare Conference, Fort Wayne, Ind.
June 14-17. United Presbyterian Church Women's General Missionary Society, Tarkio, Mo.
June 15-20. Association of Northern Baptist Educational Institutions, Greenlake, Wis.
June 15-22. Westminster Fellowship Caravan Training Regional Conference, Portland, Ore.
June 15-22. Westminster Fellowship Work Conference, Labor Temple, New York City.
June 16-23. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Helen Bush School, Seattle.
June 17-20. Northern Baptist Convention University Pastors' Conference; National Council Baptist Youth Fellowship, Greenlake, Wis.
June 17-22. Association of Federal Council Secretaries, Lake Geneva, Wis.
June 17-22. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Woman's College, Greensboro, N. C.
June 17-Aug. 9. Augustana College Summer School of Swedish, Rock Island, Ill.
June 18-23. Golden Jubilee Convention, United Evangelical Lutheran Church, Blair, Neb.
June 18-23. Danish Lutheran Church Convention, Des Moines.
June 18-24. New Jerusalem Church (Swedenborgian) Annual General Convention, Kitchener, Ont.
June 19-23. Rock River Annual Conference, Methodist Church, Aurora, Ill.
June 19-27. Presbyterian, U.S.A., Institute of Theology, Spokane, Wash.
June 19-28. Methodist Youth Caravan Training Centers, Williamsport, Pa.; Sioux City, Iowa.
June 20-26. School of Missions, Winona Lake, Ind.
June 20-28. Northern Baptist Convention National Youth Conference, Greenlake, Wis.
June 21-29. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations (including high school division), Durham, N. H.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LXIII CHICAGO, MAY 29, 1946 NUMBER 22

EDITORIAL

PRESIDENT TRUMAN shaved the margin separating the nation from a catastrophic work stoppage to less than an hour when he intervened to secure a truce in the threatened railroad strike. The truce may have expired and the strike started before this paragraph is read by our subscribers. Indeed, if the strike starts and there are no trains to carry second-class mail, it may be quite a while before our readers see these words. But this threatened railroad strike, coming so close on the heels of the coal strike, should conduce to serious thinking by those who have been sounding off as though the nation's labor troubles were to be attributed exclusively to John L. Lewis or "communism" in the labor unions. No one has ever accused the railway brotherhoods of communism, or even radicalism; they are the most conservative unions in the country. They have obeyed with meticulous care all the fact-finding and cooling-off regulations of the Railway Labor Act. The last thing their leaders want is a strike. Nevertheless, they have come to the very edge of a strike, and will almost certainly stage a walkout unless they are at once offered far more than railway management has been willing to grant. In other words, these ultra-conservative unions do not believe that, despite all the elaborate arbitral machinery of the Railway Labor Act, they have secured justice. Their experience strengthens our conviction that the direct road to labor satisfaction and peace is by making labor a partner in management.

Railroaders Also Threaten Strike

Mentally Ill Veterans Victimized by Legion

LIKE OTHERS who have responsibility for the care and treatment of the mentally ill, the Veterans Administration is confronted by a critical shortage of attendants. In spite of this well known fact, the Los Angeles county council of the American Legion has just won a campaign to force the neuropsychiatric hospital of the Veterans Administration at Sawtelle, California, to discharge three conscientious objectors who volunteered for work as attendants in that institution. In addition, the Legion brought about the suspension for 90 days of a civil service employee who is also an objector to war. The Legion did this in full knowledge of the fact that discharge of these men reduces by that much the already overstrained capacity of the institution to give even minimum custodial care to the men under its charge. What that means was unforgettably portrayed by *Life* magazine in its recent article, "Bedlam—1946." In view of this situation, the action of the American Legion makes it clear that this organization has only a secondary interest in the welfare of veterans. Its primary purpose is to carry out the benighted policies of the bureaucratic clique which has conducted its affairs for years. If this action had to be taken at all, it is perhaps fortunate that it was taken at this time when millions of young veterans are making up their minds about the pretensions of the Legion to serve their welfare. Meanwhile the discharged conscientious objectors may depend upon the good sense of the American people and of the younger veterans to recognize that their contribution to civilized treatment of the mentally ill during the war and since is the most important advance that has been made in that needy field in the last generation.

A Catholic Protest Against Catholic Intolerance

WERE it not for the fact that its readers have come to expect courageous journalism of a high order from the *Commonweal,* they might have rubbed their eyes at an article "On Prejudice" which appeared in that Catholic weekly for May 17. The article was written by the Rev. Leo J. Trese of St. Patrick's Church, Carleton, Michigan, and was as firm in its self-criticism of contemporary American Catholicism as the series now appearing in this paper tries to be in its treatment of American Protestantism. "It has even got to the point," wrote Father Trese, "where we no longer answer our critics in Christian fashion. We have become so self-satisfied that we can no longer conceive of an opponent being honest in his fear of us, sincere in his suspicion of us. When Methodist Bishop Oxnam says that the Catholic Church in principle is opposed to the separation of church and state (which happens to be

true), we answer him by saying that he doesn't believe in the divinity of Christ. We have come a long way from the 'soft answer' of the Scriptures. . . . Ours is a warped psychology. In the early church (as today in missionary lands) every unbeliever was looked upon as a potential convert. Here and now, everyone who dares to disagree is looked upon as a potential enemy. . . . We go out of our way to emphasize our difference, our superiority. It sometimes seems that we deliberately make the Catholic faith as unattractive as possible to outsiders; we camouflage the barrier until it looks far higher than it is. These things we need: a spirit of humility that will recognize our own personal and evident shortcomings as Christians; that will recognize too that our critics, our opponents, even our enemies may possibly be sincere. A spirit of kindly and gentle friendliness that will place the emphasis on the third word when we speak of 'our separated brethren.'" We would not presume to comment on such words. Rather, we read them again with heart-searching, and gratitude, and hope renewed for the Christian brotherhood that is to be.

For the Record

ROMAN Catholic pressure undoubtedly was the chief factor in preventing the United States from giving aid to the Spanish republic when it was threatened by the military revolt which developed into a civil war out of which arose the dominance of the Franco regime and the consequent slaughter of known liberals and the extermination of the majority of Spanish Protestants on the ground that they were not only liberals (as of course they were) but also communists (as of course they were not). The same pressure is now being applied to prevent any external pressure on Franco's government with a view to checking its fascist policies, or even getting at all the facts about them. The May 1946 number of the *Cathedral Calendar*, a pamphlet issued monthly by the Holy Name Cathedral, Chicago, under the direct sponsorship of Cardinal Stritch, archbishop of Chicago, carries a full-page protest against the demand by Mr. Lange, representing Poland, that the United Nations Security Council investigate Spain. The cardinal's official organ says:

> Can the motive of this effort be that these men are absolutely convinced that democracy is the best possible form of government and must therefore be foisted upon every nation? If this be so, these men could well afford to delve into the philosophical question of the best type of government. . . . Our sincerest hope and prayer is that Spain be left alone. . . . She has four hundred million dollars to spend on tools and rehabilitation equipment, but finds a solid conspiracy against her in the markets of the world. This she can endure, but she can't stand interference and turmoil from without. If the attempts of such interference can be stayed for only two years her future as a Catholic, solidly sensible country is guaranteed. For the young men of Spain, those who were children during the civil war, are now thoroughly trained in Catholic life, in Catholic Action. Out of the persecution they have come as strong militant Catholic Actionists, well able to steer their country and willing to turn them over to a competent successor or successors—in a Christian path.

The young men this writer has in mind came out as "strong Catholic Actionists." The liberals and Protestants didn't come out at all; they were murdered by Franco's falangist Catholic Actionists. And now the Chicago cardinal—whose recent goings and comings have been so fulsomely chronicled and pictured in the press, as though he were among the greatest of all living Americans—can see nothing in democracy except a form of government not to be "foisted" upon a Catholic country, and a despicable form of government at that!

Gandhi Hails British Proposal for India

WHILE it is still much too early to speak with certainty concerning the reception which the British government's white paper on India will receive from the 400,000,000 people of that dependency, it is clear that an amazing change is under way in the attitude of the people of India toward Great Britain. Beginning on March 15, when Prime Minister Attlee announced the dispatch of a cabinet mission "with the intention of using their utmost endeavors to help [India] attain her freedom as speedily and as fully as possible," a remarkable softening of the intense bitterness with which Indians regarded their sovereign has occurred. This amelioration is noted by our India correspondent on page 694 of this issue. Now that the cabinet mission has refused to take advantage of the breakdown of the Simla conference, something approaching genuine good will becomes evident in Indian pronouncements. Gandhi, who is still the most influential voice in India, openly commends the Labor administration in London for its espousal of a Union of India. "Whatever the wrong done to India by British rule," he said in New Delhi, "if the statement of the mission is genuine, as I believe it is, it is in discharge of an obligation they have declared the British owed toward India—namely, to get off India's back." The British proposal combines the strong points of the report of the Sapru committee and the platform of the All-India Congress party. The big question now is whether Jinnah and the Moslem League will carry out their threat of revolution unless they receive full Pakistan, which is specifically repudiated in the white paper. The only certainty as this is written is that the revolution has not begun. Every day that it is delayed strengthens the forces of freedom and cooperation.

Southern Drys Raise Negro Vote Specter

HOW EASY it is for one reform movement to run afoul of another is shown by the indignation of Alabama drys at the participation of Negroes in a recent local option election in that state. No group in the south is more committed to gaining for the Negro his full rights, including the right to vote, than the church group. At the same time, this church group makes up the backbone of the prohibition drive which, county by county, is trying to dry up the entire south. In the recent election in Colbert county, the interests of these two reforms ran head-on into each other. The wets induced large numbers of Negro war veterans to vote in the city of Sheffield, where the drys were confidently counting on victory. As a result, the city and county went wet by less than 400 votes. Since then W. Earl Hotalen, executive secretary of the Alabama

Temperance Alliance, has been publishing excited articles about the threat to white supremacy involved in these black wet votes. "There is more than just the liquor question involved in what has happened in Sheffield," he writes in the *Alabama Christian Advocate*. "White citizens all over Alabama must now face the actual appearance of Negro determination of election issues." And in a final sentence he points this moral: "Perhaps God has allowed this thing to happen in Colbert county in order to wake up the white people all over Alabama." Equally provocative is Mr. Hotalen's comment in the bulletin of his temperance organization, where he charges the wets with having "raised the specter of Negro determination of any and all other public issues at the ballot box in any county where the white votes are narrowly divided." This comes perilously close to raising the color issue in an effort to make southern counties dry. Mr. Hotalen is the president of the newly formed National Temperance Movement, whose initial operations were described in The Christian Century for May 8. Probably the last thing he wants is to pin a label of racial discrimination on the dry cause. Yet it is to be feared that is just what he has done.

C.O.'s Strike Against Discrimination

FOR the past several weeks, about 200 conscientious objectors in camps across the country have been on strike. This conflict might have been expected, since the Selective Service System is now administering many of the camps. The American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Northern Baptist, Methodist and Disciples churches withdrew from responsibility six months after the end of the war in Japan. The strike resulted in the arrest on May 17 of six men at the Glendora, California, C.P.S. camp, where the work stoppage began. The men under arrest are held under the heavy bail of $5,000 each, and they face maximum penalties of five years in federal prison if they are convicted. While the strike began over the transfer of two Glendora men to a disciplinary camp, its issues are much broader. They include a demand for demobilization proportional with that of the army. It is charged that C.P.S. is only 42 per cent demobilized while the army percentage is 81. Another demand is for wages for their work, compensation for injuries and allotments for dependents. A third is for the right to work at jobs which have some relation to the abilities of the workers. The situation calls for thorough investigation by some impartial agency such as the Federal Council of Churches. There will be few who will not be impressed by this statement of the conscientious objectors: "We have fought forest fires, done parachute fire jumping, made surveys of watershed conditions, served as human guinea pigs in malaria experiments, starvation experiments, nutrition experiments, fatigue experiments, jaundice experiments, altitude experiments, pneumonia experiments; worked in mental hospitals, drained swamps, dug ditches, strung telephone lines. We have received commendations from foresters, scientists, soil conservation men, doctors and others under whom we have served. Now we wish to protest against undemocratic treatment of ourselves. We are concerned lest the way we have been treated may become a precedent for the treatment of others less able to defend themselves than we are."

Burning of German Books Decreed

SOMETIMES we find it hard to make up our minds which is the more exasperating—the stupidity of the over-all Morgenthau-Potsdam policy which governs everything that is done in Germany, or the stupidity of the smaller day-by-day directives under which the military commanders are operating. Probably the latter are better contrived to make the Germans repudiate any sort of "re-education" we may try to bring to their unhappy country. As an example, consider the directive issued on May 13 by the coordinating council of the Allied Military Government in Germany. Under its terms all "anti-democratic, militaristic or nazi" books in Germany are to be destroyed, with the Allied generals acting as judges as to what books fall into those categories, and a single paragraph of quotation from such books condemning the entire volume in which it appears to the flames. Moreover, all military monuments, including those to the German fallen in other wars, are to be demolished. The newspaper correspondents report that they demanded a second briefing from the AMG before they would believe that so stupid an order had been issued. But there was no doubt about it; the Allied occupying forces have decided to burn books exactly as the nazis once burned them, but on a vastly greater scale. What will such a policy accomplish? It will convince most Germans that Allied minds and methods are not much different from nazi minds and methods. It will destroy material of great importance for future historians. By demolishing the monuments to the soldier dead of other wars it will outrage the deepest feelings of tens of thousands of families. It will impose on the AMG a witch-hunting task that cannot possibly be discharged with dignity or wisdom. And it will drive the circulation of the interdicted literature underground (ask Boston!) and make its bootlegging a national cult. Could folly go farther?

Will They Never Learn?

WHY cannot the Protestant churches of Europe learn, either from their own experience or from the observation of Catholic countries, that the time for granting special favors and governmental recognition to chosen churches has passed? It is especially shocking when church groups which are known to have enlightened and liberal attitudes on many matters, including the treatment of colonies by their home governments, still cling to the idea that the church of what has been the ruling country must continue to occupy a favored status in the colonies even if the colonies are given their political freedom. The Swiss Protestant news service carries a story concerning a recent meeting of the Netherlands Reformed Synod. After a strong statement supporting the demand of the Netherlands East Indies for civil and political rights and frankly admitting that there is much to be blamed in the policies of the home government toward these dependencies

hitherto, the synod continues: "This means that religious liberty must be assured. The gospel must have free course in the schools, in the press, and on the radio. It means also that the independent native churches and the missions must be *officially recognized organs,* and not merely voluntary associations. The synod does not plead in its own behalf. But public safety and civil liberties are closely bound up with the operations of the gospel." This clearly means that, while the synod does not demand the continuation of its own ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Indies, it does insist that any autonomous government which is established there shall take over the special patronage and protection of the Dutch Reformed Church. How hard it is for churchmen who enjoy the prestige and security of establishment to conceive that the gospel may have free course among the people in a regime where full civil liberty is guaranteed, if their church does not enjoy fostering care and official recognition from the government!

One, Two or Three Worlds?

MR. BYRNES' crestfallen return from Paris shows how perilously near the world is to dividing into two great power blocs headed for the First Atomic War. Nothing that the secretary of state or his colleagues at the recent conference can say in explanation or mitigation can obscure the realities as to what happened at Paris. The foreign ministers of the Big Four met. They argued for more than three weeks. Finally, knowing that they were wasting their time, they "recessed" for a month, having failed to reach agreement on a single one of the major topics on their agenda, and having equally failed even to agree to discuss at coming meetings such basic questions as the future of Germany, the future of Austria or when, if ever, a general peace conference is to be held. As the *New York Times* put it on the day the conference broke up, "Progress toward a *de jure* state of peace with what was Axis Europe is unnoticeable."

Of the four foreign ministers, only Mr. Molotov went home smiling. He knew that if Paris had made no progress toward peace, every added day of delay in arriving at a European settlement meant progress toward the attainment of Russia's aims on the continent of Europe. Russia, with her armies overrunning east Germany, Austria, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, and planted on the borders of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, has only to sit tight, dig in, watch internal chaos mount—and let nature take its course. The Soviet Union has everything to gain and nothing to lose from delay, whereas Britain and America find themselves shut out of the Balkans, baffled in central Europe and condemned to go on endlessly pouring money into Germany—the United States has spent over $200,000,000 there in the first year of occupation—just to keep the people in their zones alive.

If Russia persists in blocking the writing of the peace treaties, what can the United States and Great Britain do about it? Some Englishmen are reviving the agitation in favor of forming a western European bloc, presumably with the French, American and British zones in Germany in it. But that proposal has less prospect of success now than it had when Marshal Smuts first made it during the war. Almost certainly, with the situation what it is, the Scandinavian countries would regard it as the course of wisdom to stay out; the French would go in only on terms which Britain would not relish, and quite possibly not even then; and the German zones could be brought in only at the price of Germany's final partition.

In the United States there is growing talk of separate peace treaties; Mr. Lippmann is beginning to hint at something of that sort. A similar hint came out of Mr. Byrnes' radio speech. But with whom would such treaties be made? Neither Austria nor Hungary would dare enter into such an arrangement in the face of Russian disapproval. Neither would Rumania and Bulgaria. Italy may seem more open to persuasion, but Italy presents the one case in which the Allies have been able to agree on revised armistice terms that are preliminary to a peace treaty. A separate peace with Germany? With what government would it be negotiated? The burgomaster of Stuttgart, perhaps! Moreover, it must be realized that negotiation of separate treaties—which we pledged ourselves not to negotiate while we were still fighting the war—would be an acknowledgment that the "one world" goal has been abandoned.

Perhaps the time has come, however, to reckon with the abandonment of that goal. Certainly the real question raised by the unhappy Paris conference is whether the Allies have already split into two worlds, and these drifting rapidly apart. Is it only those who are determined not to see who persist in thinking that Russia has any intention of collaborating in building a single world order of peace? An anonymous member of the American delegation at Paris is quoted by the *New York Times* as saying:

> It is impossible to get anything basic done as long as the Russians are in their present state of mind. They are in a mood either for surrender on our part or a recess—take your pick. I fear it is up to American public opinion to make its dent upon our friends.
>
> The record, at any rate, is clear that the United States has made repeated efforts to try to find ways and means to meet decent considerations on those questions bothering the Russians, and we have made one suggestion after another to try and help things along. None really had any effect, and we cannot, after all, merely abandon our views or principles in entirety for the sake of what they might call a concession.

Is this the reality concerning the world situation today? Is the effort, the straining, titanic effort, being made to keep the Russians in their seat at the United Nations Security Council just another way by which those who seek "one world" are fooling themselves?

Signs multiply that American government leaders are coming to this conclusion. As they do so, they are doing nothing to stop and much to speed the formation of an Anglo-American bloc whose purpose it would be to balance—and if possible to outbalance—the solid power bloc which Russia is forming across Asia and Europe. In other words, they are shifting from a "one world" to a "two worlds" conception of the future. Consider a few indications of what is taking place.

The United States is increasingly making it clear that

its offers of loans have a political base. This is true not only of the British loan; last week the news agencies carried an obviously inspired report from Washington that the contemplated billion-dollar loan to France was intended to "bolster moderate elements in France" and to check the spread of communism there. The loan to China, promised during the war, is now to be withheld until General Marshall certifies that it will be used only in the right way by the right parties, and the loan to Poland has been held up because of our dissatisfaction with the policies of that Russian puppet. What wonder that Mr. Vinson, secretary of the treasury, came right out and told the House banking committee on May 15 that the world has now divided into two economic blocs—an Anglo-American and a Russian bloc—and that we should use our credit to build up the former? Or that Lord Halifax tells his countrymen that Russia is cementing Britain and America?

Both Britain and America are working to tie their military policy more closely together. The British have announced that their price for American control of islands in the south Pacific is a joint defense plan, entered into by the United States, to guarantee all the dominion and colonial interests which Britain has in and around the Pacific basin. They have also asked for American support in gaining the trusteeship over the former Italian colony of Cyrenaica, as an offset to their contemplated withdrawal from Egypt. On the other hand, the Americans are looking to the British to help them obtain the bases they seek in Iceland and the Azores. And while the two powers thus draw together in planning a world network of bases, the rift between the United States and Russia in Korea and Japan keeps on widening.

It is worth noting that Walter Lippmann, who is always very close to the highest officials in Washington, after his first scare over the rapid drift toward a British-Russian war, has swung to demanding that the United States become a Mediterranean power in order to keep the Russians from gaining too much of a foothold there. "The alternative to underwriting the British position in the Mediterranean," Mr. Lippmann now writes, "is to restore a balance of power in the Mediterranean. . . . To restore Italy as a Mediterranean power, and to support the revival of France, will not be enough. The United States will need to become a Mediterranean power, too. The Russians are coming some day, and we should be there in our own right. Under these circumstances, a true equilibrium of power can exist in the Mediterranean." What is that but two worlds?

This trend toward dividing the world into two great power blocs cannot go much farther without becoming open and avowed. If the Russians do not show a change of policy when the foreign ministers reassemble next month —and what reason is there to believe that they will?— the United States will be faced with two great questions, neither of which has as yet begun to register on the consciousness of most of the American people. The first is this: Can a two-world system be so organized as to keep the peace, or must such a division of the world into two power blocs finally lead to war? And the second is this: If Russia refuses to join wholeheartedly in the one-world system, would the United States do more to protect world peace and its own security by backing the British in a two-world system, or by deciding that if it is not to be one world, then three?

We know that even to suggest such questions will be resented. But there is nothing to be gained by blinking the facts any longer. Mr. Byrnes' return empty-handed from Paris signified that the whole assumption on which the war was fought—a "United Nations" to remain united for all time to uphold a single world order of peace—is manifesting itself to be an illusion. The chances that the one-world conception can be rescued from utter disintegration are growing smaller, smaller, smaller. After another month or two of drift in the present direction, they will have ceased to exist. Then what? If not one world, then two, or three? It is time for leadership to begin preparing the American people to answer.

Herbert Hoover--Voice of America's Conscience

THE RETURN of former President Hoover from his globe-girdling mission of mercy confronts the conscience of America with its greatest postwar decision. Coming at a time when the diplomacy of power has exhausted itself in a year of futility which leaves the achievement of peace as far away as it was at the end of the war in Europe, the Hoover mission offers the American people an alternative course, a second chance. That course is to throw all our massive energies into the alleviation of world-wide suffering. That chance—perhaps our last—is to right the hideous wrong of starvation as an instrument of policy by providing the means of survival for the people of a score of nations.

The significance of the Hoover embassy is found first in the personality and convictions of the ambassador. Mr. Hoover is not only our greatest authority on famine prevention. He is the man in whom the peoples of the world find America's capacity for compassion embodied. At the end of the First World War he administered a program of relief which saved the lives of millions of Europeans without regard to their political views. More than that, during this war he resolutely opposed the Churchill-Roosevelt policy of starvation of allies as well as of enemies. The consequent obloquy and recrimination which were his lot during years when the American people should have had the benefit of his service in a position of honor, enhanced rather than diminished his stature in the eyes of the world. Every American citizen should recognize President Truman's appointment of his predecessor in office for what it was—an act of long deferred justice which brings back into the service of the nation and of the world a statesman of unique gifts and international prestige.

Mr. Hoover characteristically assumed his present responsibility, which would tax the strength of a much younger man, without a word of reference to the past. Using the facilities placed at his command by the President, he embarked on a mission whose first duty was to cut through the wild exaggerations of official propaganda to get at the truth. In his radio address to the American

people he gave the first over-all summary of humanity's condition at the end of the war. If food shipments were to stop immediately, he declared, 300,000,000 people would be reduced to the "slow death" of a diet of 900 calories. Another 300,000,000 would be limited to 1,200 or 1,500 calories. This is still below the diet fed the conscientious objectors in the University of Minnesota experiment, on which they lost 40 per cent of their weight and incurred disabilities which required a year of abundant food to overcome. An additional 200,000,000 people would be below 2,000 calories, although "an average of 2,200 calories per day is the minimum in a nation of healthy human beings."

As humanity descends the food scale, Mr. Hoover pointed out, disease and epidemics inevitably appear; then public disorder and the collapse of all communal institutions; then starvation of all but the strongest; finally "at less than 900 calories we come to mass starvation. The nazis at Buchenwald and Belsen gave almost that amount to their prisoners." The former President declared that we must now decide whether to do our share in providing necessary food or to add to our army of young Americans who are expected to police the agonies of dying millions.

On the other hand, Mr. Hoover pointed out that the task of preventing unimaginable tragedy is not as great as the Combined Food Board had previously reported. Instead of a world cereal shortage of 11,000,000 tons, as the board had declared, Mr. Hoover's more accurate survey, together with his effort to induce some governments to scale down their demands to the absolute minimum, reduced the deficit to 3,600,000 tons. That is what will still be lacking when we have all done our best.

Calling for greater self-denial on the part of the American people to meet the immediate crisis, which will last until September, the leader of the food embassy declared that "if we can succeed in persuading every man and woman, every nation, to do their utmost, we shall master this famine. And we shall save the lives of hundreds of millions from the greatest jeopardy in all the history of mankind." Before leaving for some of the food-surplus countries of South America on an extension of his mission, Mr. Hoover will confer with the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization. Sir John Orr, its director general, announces as his 18-nation body meets that he will advocate a five-year plan to meet the world food crisis. The gravity of the specter of famine and of post-famine conditions, Sir John maintains, is so great that it requires the establishment of an international organization to deal solely with continuing hunger in many lands.

Confronted by this prospect of years of hunger, what more can the people of the United States do than they are now doing? Our government is at last tardily moving to secure cereals which farmers have been holding in their normal reserve and to adjust prices in order to reduce the feeding of cereals to livestock. During the past few months it has shipped more wheat abroad to feed the starving than any nation has shipped in a similar span of time in all history. But still we lag behind the need. Our commitments to UNRRA, which is attempting to supply about 20 per cent of the world famine areas, are not being met. Both the British and the American zone in Germany are in critical need, and food riots jeopardize the new democratic government in Japan at the moment it is taking office. In the first ten days of May, we shipped only one-third as much as we had pledged.

Two additional steps of great importance, immediately as well as in the five-year period through which it is likely this crisis will endure, are advocated by the Federal Council of Churches, as reported on page 692 of this paper. Both policies have been repeatedly advocated by The Christian Century, and we welcome their espousal by the Federal Council. The first is a return to rationing, which offers the only equitable method of administering the nation's food supply so that our own people will get the food they need and our surplus will be made available for export. The second is to stop all manufacture of alcoholic beverages for the duration of the crisis, since they consume vast quantities of cereals. Both these policies should be instituted without further delay to supplement the voluntary measures which are already in effect. In addition, we advocate the establishment of a world famine authority to conserve and carry on the work of the Hoover mission.

The Federal Council also wisely appeals to the churches to add to their support of government action their own program of voluntary rationing and of encouragement for the production of food in gardens and on farms. It rightly recognizes that the Christian conscience is not likely to be satisfied with the minimum measures in which government must necessarily be concerned. Now that President Truman has at last signed the bill which permits the mailing of individual food packages to former enemy countries, and now that the churches have finally merged their relief agencies into the one Church World Service organization, this action of the Federal Council should everywhere be accepted as a clue to all-out action to save the starving. Every person's efforts, every day of time, every dollar of money or pound of food, spells the difference between life and death for somebody.

Mr. Hoover's address to the nation pointed one direction in which the additional efforts which both the churches and the nation are now disposed to make might go. Between 20,000,000 and 30,000,000 children on the European continent are physically subnormal as a result of the war. He might have mentioned equal or larger numbers in Asia. Since children feel the effects of famine first and die soonest, since, even if they survive, the mental and physical effects of prolonged deprivation during the growing years are permanent, he deplored the fact that no special effort has yet been made in their behalf. This was done after the First World War, when 10,000,000 children were given daily meals of restorative food. It should be done now. Why should not the churches give their answer to Herbert Hoover, the voice of America's conscience, by making the cause of millions of starving children their own?

Sweet Summer

THE burning bush of summer,
Made of sun and sod,
Speaks in petaled fire
With the very voice of God.

ELIZABETH CRAWFORD YATES.

British Labor's First Year

By Eric Fenn

WHEN the results of the general election became known last summer most of us in Great Britain were taken by surprise at the extent of the landslide. Some were quite literally appalled, greeting the advent to power of the socialist party much as a *bon viveur* would greet the trump of God. Some of my neighbors were in this group and it took several days for them to realize that the end of the world was not at hand. In what are usually referred to as "the broad masses of the people," however, there was a new stirring of hope. True, this was mixed with regret that such a devastating defeat should have fallen upon Winston Churchill, but the general view was expressed by a taxi driver in London, discussing the election with his fare: "Churchill? Why, I'd die for that man any day of the week! But I won't vote for him, not if he's in with the wrong crowd, as he is. I'm sorry for him, but it's his own fault." Churchill still retains his personal hold on the British people. They would do anything for him, short of voting for him when they believe he is "in with the wrong crowd."

Is Labor Justifying Confidence?

But what signs are there that the present government is the right crowd? The mixed emotions of last summer have sorted themselves out and hopes have been tried against the unyielding rocks of practical politics. What signs are there that the confidence vested in the Labor party has been justified? These are questions which are of interest not only to us in these islands but to the world at large. Before tackling them, I must make my own position clear.

I write as a Christian who has supported Labor in every election since 1918. I voted for the socialists last summer for three main reasons (apart from general political conviction): first, because I was certain that by the autumn of last year the international difficulties would be almost overpowering and convinced that a Conservative government could not retain the confidence of the nation in any clash, for instance, with Soviet Russia; second, because the problems of domestic reconstruction could not be solved except along socialist lines; and third, because the alternative in my own constituency was to vote for a Conservative candidate who appeared to have no policy at all, or a Liberal who did not seem to be aware of the scale of the problems which confronted us. I am not a fanatical socialist and have no illusions about the amount which can be expected from the politician. But, on balance, it seemed to me—and still seems—that the best chance of revival of the British tradition in a form suitable to a totally different world lay in the kind of policy to which the Labor party was committed.

Well, what was that policy? The manifesto of the Labor party on which the election was fought committed them to a policy of full employment ("Jobs for all"), industry in the service of the state, control and ultimate nationalization of land, a resolute tackling of the housing problem, implementing the Butler education act by raising the school-leaving age, a national health service and social insurance, and, in international affairs, support of the embryonic United Nations organization.

The Portent of the Budget

The king's speech at the opening of Parliament on August 15 last year listed nine main items for the first session. These were public ownership of the Bank of England, nationalization of the mining industry (as part of a concerted plan for the coordination of the fuel and power industries), the acquisition of powers necessary to control industry and prices during the transition from war to peace, a plan for housing, town and country planning, industrial insurance, extension of the social insurance scheme already in operation, a national health service, and the repeal of the trades disputes and trade unions act of 1926. The speech also promised a continuation of the wartime policy in food production and distribution and the manifesto which lay behind the speech pledged the government to raise the general production level of the country while maintaining good wages and therefore a high purchasing power.

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating," and the mouthful which acts as the chief test for most ordinary men and women is the budget. The budget which Dr. Dalton recently introduced was a sign of recovery of economic health much more definite than we had any right to expect. It pegged the cost of living by continuing subsidies to necessities of life; it wiped out certain purchase taxes; it set about two million people free of income tax altogether, brought the personal allowance on which no tax is payable back to the prewar level and reduced the standard rate of surtax. Underlying it was a remarkable recovery in production, which is masked from the ordinary citizen by the priority given to the export trade, necessary because of our loss in foreign holdings during the war. While the budget did not fill anyone with wild enthusiasm, it was greeted generally as sound and encouraging.

The Record Thus Far

Meanwhile, the Bank of England has been brought under public control and made responsible to government; the coal industry has been nationalized and so have the cable and wireless industry and air transport. A national advisory service has been introduced for agriculture to bring the most expert help to the problems of farming. A national insurance bill is before the House of Lords and the promised national health service bill is under debate as I write. By the end of June almost two million service personnel will have been demobilized. Powers have been acquired for the control of industry and prices during the transition period. The trades disputes act has been repealed. These are only a selection of the chief items of legislation already passed. There have been in-

numerable smaller bills, all forming part of the attempt to implement the promises of the king's speech. As far as legislation goes, the government has shown that it means business.

The Average Man's Tests

But the ordinary man tests these things not by the list of acts which receive the royal assent or the number of bills which pursue their checkered way through the parliamentary machine, but by a few very simple needs: Where am I to live? Can I get a job? Can I get enough to eat? When can I get the next lot of coal? Politicians look to the future and rejoice to see the next generation enjoying the fruits of legislation. The common citizen has to feed, warm, clothe and shelter his family today. And the returning service man wants a few simple things before he is much interested in a general policy which may begin to affect his life a few years hence. How does the government stand up to these tests?

On V-E Day last year I stood for 45 minutes in a queue for bread. I have done the same, or very near it, several times since, and my wife has done so more frequently. One has often enough heard the remark, "Things are more difficult now than during the war." In spite of government appeals to save food, issued as early as last autumn, the scale and seriousness of the world food shortage have only slowly come home to the popular mind. Even now there are many who fail to see that our own difficulties are part of a general human problem which was bound to come at the end of the war and are in themselves comparatively slight.

It would be idle to pretend that Sir Ben Smith is popular. Perhaps nobody responsible for food could be just now. But many people feel that the essentials of the world food crisis ought to have been put before the public more pungently, while some hold strongly that a clear call to much greater sacrifice for the sake of Europe would have met with a response as definite as any of the crises of the war. Yet on the whole few people are inclined to blame the Labor government for food shortages. All that is regarded as just "bad luck," part of the handicap which any government taking office at the end of so exhausting a war must have carried.

Housing an Urgent Problem

There was a time, back in the winter, when coal was a major domestic worry and when it seemed as if the policy of nationalization would not rally the loyalty of the miners or stimulate production. But things have improved, largely owing to Mr. Shinwell's drive and tenacity, and the warmer weather is with us once again. Housing, of course, is the most urgent need and the slowness of the work both of requisitioning premises and reconditioning bombed houses, let alone building new ones, has meant that people are overcrowded and uncomfortable and consequently disgruntled.

But again, the shortage of materials, though not fully realized at first, has become apparent, and even the prefabricated houses are better than nothing and better than the precarious permanence of the jerry-building contractor, from whose ministrations most towns still suffer. Clothing is a problem, but one to which we have been long accustomed and one which is mitigated at present by the fact that the demobilized service man has at least one decent suit and the rest of us "manage somehow." It is not that we are satisfied with these personal arrangements, nor that we do not grumble about food queues and old clothes and bad housing, but there are not many who believe that a Conservative government could have done much better.

On the whole I think it is fair to claim that the Labor government has gone far to redeem its pledges and most people are still prepared to give them a fair run for their money, as far as things which directly affect our daily lives go. I personally have misgivings about the national health scheme, because I have a horror of institutionalized medicine and have long lost any illusions I might have had about hospitals and clinics. But I recognize that this is the reaction of a man who has had private medical attention within his reach all his life, whereas for the vast majority of my fellow citizens it has been the hospital or nothing. The major human question involved is how, having systematized the national medical service, we can humanize it so that the poor man is treated as a person and not as a digit. But that problem belongs to the kind of society we have created in all its ranges and not simply to medicine.

Britain and Russia

What, then, about external policy? What do we think of Mr. Bevin's duels with Mr. Vishinsky, or of the present discussions in the Security Council of the U. N.? There is, I think, a good deal of disquiet about Greece—though not as much as the more vocal Labor backbenchers would have us believe. Indonesia appears to the average man as an awkward baby we were found holding at the wrong moment and want to get rid of as soon as possible. We are puzzled by the apparent failure of the Labor government to gain the confidence and cooperation of the left in Greece, but we have begun to realize that the Greek left is unlike anything we know in this country. The Franco regime has no friends that I can discover, but neither would a communist Spain have many enthusiasts.

Persia appears as a special case of the general Russian problem, to which I must devote some space. But before doing so it is well to remember that our views of international policy are apt to be colored by our experience of domestic politics. Broadly it is true that on the continent of Europe the political choice in all countries is between rival factions of the left, and Continental socialism is not the same thing as our own. In Britain we still believe we have the choice between left and right within a general democratic framework which we never question. In the United States, it seems to us, the choice is between different elements of the right, but again within an accepted democratic system. And it is by now a truism that much of our difficulty in international affairs arises from the different definitions we give to the word "democracy."

And now about Russia. A young Frenchman who was over here in the summer of last year, before the end of the western war, came back to visit us last autumn. He told me that the biggest single impression he had was of the immense shift in public opinion about Russia in the

intervening months. That change has gone on steadily ever since, and it is not uncommon to meet even communist supporters, if not members of the Communist party, who are puzzled by the apparent power politics of the Soviet Union. The shocks have been cumulative, so that the public demonstration of disagreement in the counsels of the United Nations did not come as the unheralded surprise it might have been.

There is still a very real desire on the part of the majority of the British people to be friends with Russia; there is no desire whatsoever to see the situation develop into another war; there is a great deal of perplexity that a comrade in arms should prove so difficult to get on with in peace. All this means that on the whole Mr. Bevin has solid backing for his handling of the disputes with Russia which have found expression in the Security Council—and that support comes from Conservatives as well as from Labor. Some of us, remembering the sad declension of Ramsay Macdonald, may shake our heads at these evidences of popularity on both sides of the House, but none the less we support the general line of Bevin's policy.

One thing this government has done, to the great relief of all of us, is to grasp the nettle of India. It is too early to say whether any solution of what is now an almost insoluble problem will at the eleventh hour emerge, but there is no doubt that the parliamentary commission of inquiry, followed by the present cabinet mission, has changed the atmosphere and once again restored faith that the British government really means business in its desire for a settlement. It no longer appears inevitable that India should crumble through armed rebellion into civil war and chaos. And, apart from a few diehard Conservatives, this new hope has the good will of the whole nation behind it.

I have said nothing about our relations with the United States. Nor do I propose to at this stage. We may have our differences and our difficulties in understanding one another, but no Britisher dreams that these are anything but natural and amicable differences within the same family. But, if you ask whether the British nation is disillusioned with the Labor government, I should reply that I can find no solid ground for such a view. If a general election should be held tomorrow—which God forbid!—I believe the socialists would get in again with a handsome majority, even though that majority might be a little less overwhelming than the present one.

Our Debt to the Japanese Evacuees

By Galen M. Fisher

THE ENTIRE 135,000,000 stockholders in Uncle Sam & Company are deep in debt to the 110,000 of Japanese lineage who were evicted by the federal government. Several assertions about the evacuation that caused the debt should now be placed on the record. To begin with, the *indiscriminate* evacuation was of doubtful necessity. In Hawaii no such debt was incurred because no indiscriminate evacuation was perpetrated, only 980 of the 160,000 persons of Japanese stock being interned in the islands or sent to mainland relocation centers.

A fresh vindication of the Hawaiian policy is at hand in the statement made on January 15 of this year to a congressional committee on statehood by Robert Shivers, chief of the FBI in the islands before and throughout the war. Said Mr. Shivers:

> There was not one single act of sabotage committed against the war effort in the Hawaiian Islands during the course of the entire war. In spite of what Admiral Kimmel or anyone else may have said about the fifth column activity in Hawaii, I want to emphasize that there was no such activity in Hawaii before, during or after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The indiscriminate evacuation was of dubious legality. A majority of the Supreme Court evaded the issue of its legality in their verdict in the Korematsu case, but three justices and other authorities have held that evacuation without hearings was a violation of the due process clause of the Constitution. A perilous precedent was set and the rights of all citizens were impaired.

The debt to the evacuees may be traced to the fact that the federal administration granted unlimited powers to the military. The attorney general, in advising the President to give the war department power to exclude any person from defined areas, should have prescribed safeguards for constitutional rights. That he failed to do this is all the more surprising in view of the fact that on February 9, 1942, ten days before the presidential order was issued, he implied his disapproval of indiscriminate evacuation in a letter to the secretary of war.

The debt can never be fully paid. Even if Congress should authorize indemnification for the huge financial losses suffered by the evacuees, proof of loss could be established for only a fraction of the cases, and no repayment would be granted for less tangible losses such as business good will, frustrated careers, impaired health, and demoralization of children rising from abnormal conditions in the centers.

History is likely to show that the indiscriminate evacuation was one of the capital blunders of the war. Apparently, the President and his advisers were not moved by racial bias in authorizing the evacuation, yet in failing to insist on *selective* evacuation they allowed themselves to be carried away by the ephemeral hysteria on the west coast and the specious arguments of politicos, race-baiters and economic chiselers. By mischance, execution of the presidential mandate fell to a general who publicly declared that "a Jap is a Jap." But blame for the blunder must be shared by the 135,000,000 stockholders, even though, under war conditions, the most alert patriots hesitated to oppose the acts of public authorities who presumably knew overriding facts hidden from the private citizen.

Prompt creation by the President of the War Relocation Authority on March 18, 1942, to care for and *relocate*

(not penalize) the evacuees, went part way to make amends. It was the least the government could do. This brings us to the main concern of this article: to appraise the conduct of WRA and to define those problems of resettlement that are likely to be unfinished business when, a few weeks hence, WRA finally folds up.

WRA—Plus and Minus

At the outset, I make bold to assert that WRA deserves a Congressional Medal of Honor as truly as any other hero of the war. Even under favorable conditions its task would have been exceedingly difficult; but from start to finish WRA has been compelled to fight on two fronts. Outside, it fought an unscrupulous opposition in Congress and the western states. Inside, it fought a minority of evacuees, consisting of those kibei (nisei educated in Japan) and aliens who were enemies both of America and of the larger number who were driven into resentment by the calumnies and threats uttered against all evacuees by the opposition.

Far from whitewashing WRA, for four years I have given it the faithful wounds of a friend. First and last, it has been guilty of a few mistakes at the top, it has lacked proper coordination, it has been betrayed by misfits among its personnel, and it has only belatedly secured effective public relations. But consider its astonishing achievements. It had no precedents to guide it and it had to move at express speed. Doggedly clinging to the democratic dream and defying those who dubbed the evacuees quislings, it treated them as innocent war victims, revived their faith in America, discouraged self-pity, emphasized responsibility to share the national war burden, and spurred them to create in the desert self-governing communities, with schools, churches, theaters, playgrounds, cooperatives and food-for-victory farms. Besides, WRA deserves a large measure of the credit for persuading the army to allow the nisei to serve in the armed forces, a right which was won only after months of struggle. With what glory the nisei combat and intelligence units covered themselves and the country, the world now knows.

All this and more WRA achieved, despite the fact that it was an Orphan Annie, an unattached presidential agency, cold-shouldered by the military and left by an overburdened President to fend for itself. Only after two years was it attached to the department of interior, where Secretary Ickes ran interference for it.

These Deserve Nation's Gratitude

In fine, despite all its shortcomings WRA should go down in history as an example of fair play for the underdog in the best American tradition, and of democracy during a period of war-born autocracy. Milton Eisenhower, who partially set it up, and Dillon S. Myer and his associates, who piloted it through four tempestuous years with courage, charity, political acumen and unsullied idealism, deserve the gratitude of the nation. To the end, Congress refused adequate funds. When Myer presented his last annual budget, the congressional committee blandly asked, "Why not turn all the evacuees loose and let them look after themselves?"

The battle to win public acceptance for the returning evacuees is no longer acute. In fact, their treatment in stores, theaters, restaurants and hotels is said to be better than before the war. WRA and a host of civic agencies have done much to effect this change. But chief credit must go to returned veterans. No race-baiter can long face the wounded and medal-decked nisei from European and Pacific theaters, much less their white buddies who, like General Stilwell, are ready to take on any man who questions nisei loyalty. But the gravest problems confront not the nisei, but the alien elders, the issei. Many of those problems will apparently be left unsolved by WRA. This unfinished business falls under two heads: welfare and legal issues.

A certain degree of ruthlessness marked the dragooning of reluctant evacuees out of the relocation centers last fall and winter, before adequate housing was available. Some of the aged, infirm and delicate suffered acutely. Naturally, sensitive Caucasian citizens waxed indignant. Yet if all the facts could be set forth, WRA's offense would be mitigated, though not expunged.

Lack of decent housing was the worst hardship facing the resettlers. Although WRA maintains that it had worked hard for months to solve this problem both at Washington and in California, competent observers think it did too little, too late. That being said, it must however be added that the housing plight of the evacuees was similar to that confronting people in general, even returning veterans. Granted that WRA was justified in closing up the centers as quickly as possible—before the older evacuees became hopelessly institutionalized, before funds for their maintenance gave out, and while the employment demand on the coast was strong—still it should have done more to cushion the shock.

Restrictive Laws and Covenants

In mid-March 1946, Director Myer told me that all service-connected evacuee families were eligible to live in federal housing units (765 members of such families are at present living in such houses at Long Beach), that the wartime houses formerly occupied by shipbuilding and airplane workers would accommodate most of the able-bodied resettlers not otherwise provided for, and that older dependents would be cared for either in church hostels or by county welfare departments. He added that no county welfare department had refused to cooperate heartily, and that the reason some aged alien Japanese were in distress was because California law excludes them from receiving old age pensions. But on April 1, WRA in southern California reported that 1,913 returnees were still living in temporary housing which would have to be vacated by April 30, and that 1,420 were living in 32 hostels. At Winona, near Los Angeles, WRA is opening a special project to care for distressed families. Permanent locations are said to be in sight, but have yet to be secured for all.

One formidable obstacle that prevents evacuees from getting houses, even when they have funds, is the prevalence of restrictive covenants, which exclude from large residential areas not only persons of Japanese stock but all Orientals, Negroes and Jews. Plucky and sometimes successful local fights have been waged against this snobbish and un-American device, but high court decisions or new legislation may be the only way to end it.

At present, the future of hundreds of nisei who own

farms in California has been put in jeopardy by 50 escheat suits brought against them by the state. If the state wins, the lands will be forfeited to the state. Titles to the land in question were placed by alien parents in the names of their citizen-children, who can hold land like any other citizen. But the state holds that such conveyances were a subterfuge to enable the parents to profit. So long as the law stands, violations of it should be prosecuted. But the defendants hold that there have been few violations, and that a practice never challenged for thirty years is now being attacked for ulterior reasons by white farmers. The Japanese American Citizens League has formed the Legal Rights Defense Union and raised $15,000 to carry a test case to the Supreme Court.

Naturalization

After World War I veterans of Japanese nationality were offered citizenship. It has been suggested that the least a grateful nation could do would be to offer naturalization to the parents of nisei veterans of World War II. It seems far sounder, however, to press for naturalization rights for all Orientals rather than for Japanese alone.

The facts respecting the dual citizenship of nisei have long been grossly misunderstood. Big and little "Dies" committees have asserted that practically all nisei were both American citizens and Japanese subjects. The fact is that no one can say how many dual citizens there are, although it is known that they number only a small minority. Furthermore, many nations of Europe and South America practice a more rigorous form of dual nationality than does Japan. The whole issue might be quashed, as the J. A. C. L. has proposed, by outlawing it in treaties entered into by our government with other nations.

No one denies that the forced evacuation caused the victims enormous losses. Nevertheless, nearly all of them submitted to the government order with amazing good grace. A few hundred were later found to be hostile to America, but most of these were not alien elders, but kibei (young Japanese at least partly educated in Japan). Now that the war is over and other government-caused losses are being indemnified, it would be a just and gracious act for Congress to create a claims commission to ascertain proved losses and compensate those whose loyalty to this country was unquestioned. A bill for this purpose has already been drafted and is under study by various departments. Expressions of concern on this matter should continue to be sent to Congress and the President.

Renunciants and Deportees

"Tule Lake" is a synonym for "hot potato," and it was such for two years, especially to WRA and to the department of justice. The heat came from three sources: the abortive "registration" in 1943, the tardy segregation of the few hundred avowed anti-American evacuees, mostly kibei, and the renunciation of American citizenship by some 5,000. It boots nothing to dwell here on the registration and segregation issues; but renunciation calls for comment.

Asserting that they had signed the renunciation under duress, a multitude of signers last year clamored for the right to cancel their act. That duress existed in such forms as beatings-up by kibei gangs, false rumors and family domination was admitted by many government officials. At length the department of justice, in harmony with its own convictions and in response to pressure from WRA and private groups, formed boards to hear the appeals of renunciants. Simultaneously, Attorney Wayne Collins, with the support of the Civil Liberties Union, filed suits on behalf of 1,500 of them. The result is that nearly 3,000 renunciants have been released, instead of facing deportation to Japan. The tragic fact remains, however, that except for the fraction of them who hold dual citizenship, these released persons are "men without a country."

The case of the several hundred Japanese evacuated during the war from South America to this country poses another vexing problem since Peru and other nations object to their return.

The Supreme Court, in its verdict of December 18, 1944, on the Korematsu case, refused by a vote of 6 to 3 to nullify the evacuation without due process, although the dissenting opinions were so cogent as to give good grounds for hoping that the court would later reverse itself. But for the present, as Professor Rostow of the Yale law school has warned, the verdict has weakened control of civilian over military power, has made Japanese-Americans second-class citizens, and has given support to racial myths which can easily be turned against any other minority. Citizens jealous for the integrity of the Constitution will not rest until the court has explicitly invalidated the indiscriminate evacuation.

Invalidating Indiscriminate Evacuation

Pearl Harbor made residents of Japanese lineage on the coast the chief targets of race discrimination. Accordingly, the fight to defend constitutional rights centered around that minority until December 1944. But when, on December 18, 1944, the Supreme Court ruled that the evacuees as a whole could not legally be detained, and simultaneously the Western Defense Command lifted the order excluding them from the coast, the situation was radically changed. With these crucial issues settled, it was decided by the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play that the time had come to switch the emphasis from the rights of one minority to those of all minorities. Point was given to this decision by the added racial tension caused by the great wartime influx of Negroes and Mexicans. Other agencies endorsed the idea.

Accordingly, during 1945 attention was given to forming in many cities councils or committees that would serve all minorities and uphold constitutional liberties. Finally, on February 20, 1946, a federation of some scores of such agencies was consummated in the California Councils for Civic Unity. The success of the federation was largely assured when the coast branch of the American Council on Race Relations consented to provide a clearinghouse of information and to contribute the services of its technical staff. Thus endeth one chapter of the fight to win liberty and justice for all, at least on the west coast.

This balance sheet, dated at the end of April 1946, shows that Uncle Sam & Company are still heavily in debt to the evacuees, but that a brave start toward repayment has been made. Whether that repayment will be made in full or not depends on the 135,000,000 stockholders.

Can Protestantism Win America?
Ninth Article in Series

Protestant Localism

By Charles Clayton Morrison

THIS is a continuation of the previous article entitled "Protestantism, Thou Ailest Here, and Here!" Four focal sources of Protestant weakness were discussed. I wish now to consider a fifth and, in a subsequent article, a sixth source of Protestant weakness.

5. *Protestantism is weak at its base, namely, its local churches.* Here there appears an ailment for which I shall have to coin a word. I shall call it "localism"—a state of mind in which the local church tends to think of itself as a self-sufficient entity, that is, virtually as an end in itself. This is in contrast with a state of mind in which the local congregation is primarily conscious of itself as the expression in this particular place of the ecumenical church of Christ and the ecumenical Christian faith. (I would prefer to say "catholic," with a small "c," instead of "ecumenical," but in these articles, to avoid confusion, I have found it necessary to reserve the word "Catholic" to apply to the Roman Catholic Church, even though I, with all Protestants, emphatically reject its claim to catholicity.)

The Blight of Localism

Localism is the ultimate opposite, as denominationalism is the proximate opposite, of ecumenicalism. Localism exists, primarily, because of (1) the decaying significance of the denominations and (2) the non-existence of an ecumenical church to which the local church could transfer the loyalty which it formerly gave to the denomination. A congregation is thus left to its own self-consciousness with no higher ecclesiastical loyalty than is expressed in a lightly held traditional and quite pragmatic connection with its denomination. The local churches of Protestantism are thus in the way of becoming orphaned churches.

Those denominations which call themselves "congregational"—such as the Baptists, Disciples and Congregationalists—contribute directly to this weakness in Protestantism. In their case, localism is the inevitable effect of a thoroughly wrong ecclesiastical theory. This theory sees the local church as the ultimate, independent entity, and the general church, whether denominational or ecumenical, as only the sum of these local autonomous units. Naturally, under such an atomistic conception, the consciousness of the local church would be unduly inflated with self-importance, and its sense of responsibility to the whole body of Christ would be at a minimum.

But those denominations which, historically, have had some awareness of the wholeness of the church of Christ and of every local congregation as the expression in a particular place of this larger church, are hardly less afflicted with localism than are the "congregational" denominations. True, they have probably always recited the clause in the Apostles' Creed, "I believe in the holy catholic church," with slightly more unction than their more congregationally minded neighbors, but the denomination obstructed their vision so that they hardly knew to what the words referred. Their horizon was ecclesiastically limited to the denomination; beyond that their recitation of the creed expressed hardly more than a pious sentiment vaguely directed toward a mystical something commonly called "the church invisible."

Denominational Significance Wanes

But now, in contemporary Protestantism, the significance of all the denominations is in a general process of decay. Both clergy and laity now tend to think of their denomination more as a traditional fellowship and a practical agency than as a living witness to something formerly held to be of great importance and distinctively its own. Thus the local churches of Presbyterian, Methodist, Evangelical Reformed, United Brethren and other denominations of this order, tend to centralize their consciousness, not in the denomination, but in the local congregation. In this respect, they are hardly distinguishable from their outright "congregational" neighbors. The Episcopal and Lutheran denominations also experience this same decay of denominational vitality, but perhaps not so sharply as those I have mentioned.

This localism spells weakness, and it may spell decadence unless a true ecumenicalism comes in to lift the vision and loyalty of local churches to a consciousness of their participation in and allegiance to the whole church of Christ. We shall return to this matter later. For the present, I wish to direct attention to two consequences which flow from this undisciplined, relatively irresponsible, atomistic parochialism.

A congregation in whose consciousness the bond of loyalty to any larger church has been thinned down to a mere traditional or pragmatic connection (whether by the un-Christian theory of "congregationalism," or by the vanishing significance of its denomination) is in danger of drifting either toward secularism or toward some form of fanaticism.

Secularism in the Local Church

(a) Consider first the tendency toward secularism. The scandalous overlapping of Protestant local churches in American society subjects each congregation to a competitive struggle to maintain its existence. In this rivalry, it is humanly inevitable that each such church will appeal to superficial or irrelevant motives in gaining new members. By this I mean motives which fall short of a genuine religious response.

Under such conditions, the act of uniting with the church carries with it hardly more than local implications. It becomes a quite casual matter, based largely on considerations of social affinity or family tradition or the personality of the present minister or the "liberalism" of the preaching or other collateral attractions which a particular congregation offers. Appeal to such motives tends to lower the threshold of church membership to the level of the secular community. It is on a par with one's act in joining

the Rotary club, or the Masonic lodge, or the Parent-Teacher association, or any of the numerous uplift organizations in the community. One unites with *this* church, and the act is accompanied with only a minimum of consciousness that one is uniting with *the* church.

This inevitably affects the character of the local church itself. A membership recruited in this way has to be held together by the same motives which recruited it. Thus these motives become institutionalized in forms of entertainment and social activity which have little relevance to the religious life, but do help to maintain the morale of such a church. The result is that these collateral secular activities and attractions come to overshadow and eclipse the essential religious character of the church. The congregation becomes smug, "clubby" and self-centered. It becomes a class church, in which only those of congenial intellectual or social tastes feel at home. Such a church expresses itself in the appeal to join "this" church because it is *different,* thus minimizing the essential respects in which "this" church is, or ought to be, the *same*—that is, the ecumenical church of Christ at this particular place. The final effect is to inflate the local consciousness and to shrink the ecumenical consciousness.

The Gospel of the Glad Hand

This process of the secularization of the local church has gone farther than Protestants generally are aware. It manifests itself in the extreme emphasis upon the paramount importance of sociability, of greeting people at the church door, of establishing social relations among the members, new and old—in short, of making everybody "feel at home." The feeling of being at home, however, is not an ecumenical feeling of being at home in the church of Christ, but of belonging to this particular social fellowship. The cultivation of this feeling tends to create in the individual the demand for its satisfaction as the ground on which his membership in the church is determined.

In the human nature of the case, not everybody can be made to feel at home in this local sense. So the number of those who give the lack of sociability as their reason for *not* joining a particular church is likely to be as great as the number of those who actually join because of its sociability. How often do we hear the petulant report: "I went to such and such a church and no one spoke to me. I will not go there again."

This demand for local sociability as the basis of church membership and loyalty develops an appetite that grows by what it feeds on. The church, on its part, tends to lose the ecumenical conception of itself and adopts methods of recruiting and maintenance which are little short of coddling. And the individual tends to conceive his churchly relation as the bestowal of a favor upon the church, rather than as an indispensable means of grace. Thus the very structure of the local church tends to rest upon the whims of its members. It does not evoke in them the sense of awe and reverence and of humility which is basic in Christian loyalty. In a word, this overstimulation of sociability tends to destroy religious spontaneity in the individual.

Let any Protestant pastor examine his own routine with the purpose of appraising the quality of his daily labors in keeping his church going and building it up with new accessions to its membership. He will find that he has been engaged in making approaches and appeals that are dishearteningly superficial and trivial. He has not done this of his own accord or because he is unaware of the lack of depth and strength in his method; indeed, he often recoils from this cheapening of his vocation. And he would reproach himself but for one consideration: he *has* to do it! He is driven to it by the practical necessity that is forced upon him in the competitive struggle of local churches in his community.

Coddled Christians

Vast numbers of Protestant Christians wait inertly to be coddled into a church when they have moved their residence into a new community. They lack religious spontaneity because their past relation to the church has been based, not upon profound religious feeling or conviction, but upon local attractions.

This condition cannot be cured while such competitive Protestantism endures. Until Protestantism finds the will to build in every local community more stately mansions for its soul—more stately in breadth and height and depth than the competitive and wasteful and parochial-minded local churches which now blight while they bless their local communities—it will not deserve to win America, even if it could do so.

It should be unnecessary to say that what I have written is no narrow condemnation of the sociabilities of local church life. From its earliest beginnings the Christian faith has found a positive expression of its fellowship on the common level of social intercourse. I am not piously exhorting the churches to abandon these activities. I am not even exhorting them to be ecumenical-minded. Such an exhortation would be utterly futile, for they can hardly be expected to be ecumenical-minded so long as the ecumenical faith of Protestantism has no visible and functioning embodiment to which these local churches originally belong and from which, rather than from themselves, they draw the substance and sustenance of their spiritual life.

Prey to Fanaticism

(b) The other tendency of this irresponsible localism manifests itself in the opposite direction. It issues in a sterile religious fanaticism. Lacking any profound consciousness of belonging to an ecumenical Christianity, the local church becomes an easy prey to the purveyors of religious vagaries. These vagaries are too well known, too multifarious and too widely prevalent on the margins of contemporary Protestantism to require any specific listing here. The self-centered, congregationally minded local church has no adequate protection against the nondescript, irresponsible and fanatically minded preacher who thinks he is doing God's service by invading a church with his weird doctrines (always proved by the Bible!) and sowing the seeds of discord and alienation from ecumenical Christianity.

Thousands of these half-orphaned local churches in all parts of the country, and in all save a very few of the denominations, have become victims of this invasion. To call it an invasion is not an exaggeration. It is now assuming the form of an organized attack upon ecumenical Protestantism, and it selects the semi-orphaned local church as the vulnerable point of its attack. Irresponsible

schools have lately sprung up like mushrooms overnight and are turning out large numbers of half-baked preachers, intensively indoctrinated with the fantasy or dogma or biblical stereotype which a particular school represents. Wealthy lay men and women who, as a class, are peculiarly susceptible to the appeal of weird or reactionary interpretations of the Scriptures, provide these schools with liberal financial support.

Mushroom Preachers and Schools

At least two of the larger denominations—the Baptists and the Disciples—are only now waking up to the fact that in each of them these mushroom schools actually enroll more candidates for the "ministry" than all their educationally responsible seminaries combined. The Presbyterians are not far behind. These and other denominations face the imminent possibility of another division or of a substantial defection.

The local churches of Protestantism are notoriously susceptible to the plausibilities of the nondescript preacher. This is frequently illustrated in the calling of a minister to a vacant pulpit. The manner in which this is done in the "free" local churches of most of our denominations is pathetic to behold—on both the church's side and the minister's. The laity is uninformed concerning the record, the background and the probable trend of a particular candidate's ministry. But it is jealous of its independent prerogative in making the choice. A plausible candidate can easily sweep a congregation off its feet in a single sermon, or he can work his way in by cultivating a faction that is susceptible to his particular brand of biblical interpretation. A congregation may thus unwittingly expose itself to a type of fanaticism whose effect is to alienate it from ecumenical Christianity. Eventually, similarly alienated congregations join in a "movement" whose end is rupture or a substantial defection, leading perhaps to the formation of another denomination or several of them.

Who Is to Blame?

Obviously something is wrong here—radically wrong. Does the fault lie with the fundamentalists and the premillennialists and the restorationists and the perfectionists and the pietists and all the other forms of this motley fanaticism? Proximately, yes. Ultimately, no. The radical fault lies in Protestantism itself. We are only witnessing another exhibition of the spirit which has characterized Protestantism for centuries. It is the identical spirit which founded all our denominations, including those now most enlightened. Protestant history is only repeating itself.

The very denominations which are now threatened with fresh divisions originated on the basis of no less narrow stereotypes of biblical interpretation than those which now disturb their own unity. The continued separate existence of these denominational "churches" is subject to the same judgment as that which they pronounce on the present disturbers of their peace. The long life and the present respectability of these denominations must not obscure this embarrassing fact. The distinctive tenets which are cited as reasons for their continued separate existence are in the same category of narrow fanatical stereotypes as those by which fundamentalism and restorationism and all the rest now threaten further division.

We saw, in the previous article, how the fissiparous tendency in Protestantism had historically operated to divide it into a congeries of denominational "churches." This same tendency is now operating to disintegrate these denominations into an amorphous congeries of independent, uncoordinated, parochial-minded local churches. Two or three generations ago, the tenets and practices of each denomination were sufficiently strong to hold its local churches in a vital, even if sectarian, solidarity. But the denominations no longer have the significance or the inner strength they once had. They are, in truth, hardly more than survivals of an era that is past. Few, if any, of the larger bodies hold any distinctive convictions which, if their denominations were not already in existence, would constrain them to start a new denomination today.

The denominational system is becoming increasingly hollow. This fact is at once encouraging and ominous. Encouraging, insofar as it represents the emergence of an ecumenical consciousness which transcends the denominational consciousness and thus weakens it. How long these denominational entities can continue as separate "churches" depends upon the strength and vividness of the ecumenical consciousness and the speed with which it can come to grips with the Protestant conscience.

Orphaned Churches

But the decaying significance of these denominations is ominous, because it tends to leave their local churches orphaned, unmothered by any spiritual and vital attachment to any general church beyond their local habitat. The denomination formerly served this purpose, but, having lost so much of its theological, ecclesiastical and spiritual significance, it has been reduced, virtually, to a mere pragmatic agency through which its local churches clear their missionary and benevolent activities. To this agency there still adheres, of course, a certain sentimental attachment based upon tradition, procedural familiarity and special acquaintance among its personnel.

It should be obvious that Protestantism cannot win America unless this disintegrative process now going on within its own body is overcome by an integrative process at the ecumenical level. Indeed, Protestantism cannot even maintain itself as a living force while the significance of its denominational structures is decaying and its local churches are becoming more and more parochial-minded and autonomous. The only hope for the survival of Protestantism, not to mention its winning of America, lies in its becoming organically ecumenical. But this hope must be grasped and implemented before the decay of its denominational structures has gone too far. That is to say, before the tenuous bond that now holds the local churches to some degree of spiritual loyalty has become so weakened by the disintegrative effects of localism that they will have lost the will, and the denomination itself will have lost the organic strength, required to carry them into an organically ecumenical Protestantism.

The cure of this localism will require heroic treatment. Indeed, it calls for a profound revolution in the consciousness of Protestantism and in its implementation. Until Protestantism becomes conscious of itself as a whole, and embodies its unity in a form competent to evoke a positive ecumenical consciousness and an ecumenical allegiance on

the part of its local churches, these churches will continue to gravitate toward secularism or will be the prey of any preacher of fantastic and fanatical doctrines who comes along.

The decay of denominational significance thus makes possible today an ecumenical Protestantism which was not possible at any earlier period. But it is also a solemn warning that, if the disintegrative process represented by the increasing parochialism of the local churches continues, the achievement of such a possibility will be even more difficult than it would have been in the heyday of sectarian pride and conflict. I see only two alternatives. One is for Protestantism blindly to allow itself to disintegrate into a congeries of local churches, each one an easy victim of either secularism or fanaticism. The other is for Protestantism to discover the inherent but hidden ecumenical genius of the Reformation and to implement itself as an organic empirical entity within whose mothering embrace each local church may find its true dignity as the expression of the ecumenical church of Christ in this particular place. This, I affirm, is the only adequately Christian way in which the relationship of a local church to the body of Christ may be conceived.

Such a profound reformation of Protestantism requires, fundamentally, one thing only. It is that Jesus Christ shall be given his true place as the sole authority in the church of which he is the living Head. But Protestantism will not do this so long as the Bible continues to be accorded the place which belongs only to Christ. This most fundamental source of Protestant weakness will be discussed next week.

BOOKS

More Mystic than Materialist

THE IDEA OF CHRIST IN THE GOSPELS, OR GOD IN MAN, A CRITICAL ESSAY. *By George Santayana. Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.75.*

SCARCELY one of Professor Santayana's thirty volumes fails to give some serious recognition to the place of religion in the process of man's struggle for complete realization, and in some it has been a major topic, but here he deals with religion in strictly Christian terms. Everything that he has written during his long life supports the expectation that he will reveal quickening (and often questionable) insights and that he will tread no beaten path of conventional orthodoxy when he writes about "the idea of Christ" and "God in man." This expectation is not disappointed.

To be perfectly fair and completely intelligent in reviewing this book, one should go back and reread some of Santayana's earlier books and perhaps especially the superb volume edited by Paul A. Schilpp, *The Philosophy of Santayana,* in which a score of competent scholars discuss aspects of the theme and the philosopher strikes back in a 100-page exposition and defense of himself. Santayana is a Spaniard and a Catholic by birth and early training; partly an American by education and some years of residence, but so imperfectly acclimated that he resigned his professorship in Harvard at the earliest opportunity (at about 50) and returned to Europe where he has lived for the last thirty years; the possessor of an English style that is the delight and envy of all who read it, though he sometimes remarks that the language is "not quite native" to him, especially as regards "the hopelessly foreign quality of the English sort of imagination and the northern respect for the inner man instead of the southern respect for the great world, for fate, for history, for matter" (Schilpp, *op. cit.,* p. 598). At various times Santayana has called himself a "materialist," a "skeptic," and a "dogmatist." There is no room here to explain the sense in which he uses these terms, but none of them has the meaning that the casual reader would ascribe to it. They are mentioned only as giving assurance that Santayana is not being naive or literalistic when he makes strongly evangelical statements about Christ.

The Gospels built up four enriched pictures of Christ, each differing from the others. There was "inspiration" in this. But what is inspiration? "It would appear that the graphic and persuasive force of inspiration, although circumstances may be propitious for it, as they may be propitious for the development of a seed, does not invade us from outside, but on the contrary springs from an innate poetic fertility and suppressed dreamfulness in the psyche." A chapter is given to the characteristics of the several Gospels. Among the first Christians, "each had heard something or seen something that had converted him; each had his own copious inspirations in consequence; and it was the task of the Church to harmonize these oracles of private faith, and in particular to form a definite idea of Christ. . . . The Gospels were steps in that direction. . . . Yet the Gospels needed completion and interpretation in many directions, and it was the duty of the later Fathers and Councils to carry on the same inspired labors." On the narrative side, there was little to be added; but Christ's "relation to the Father and to the soul of the believer remained intellectually obscure. Christology and the nature of salvation and grace therefore formed the first questions on which the Church had to seek for more light." There is here a glimpse of the Catholic idea of the development of doctrine by a church specially inspired to guide that development in the right way; but this must be viewed in the light of the above definition of inspiration. In any case, the function of the evangelists is viewed as something quite other than that of simple witnesses to that which they have seen and heard. The author formulates his theme thus:

> Meanwhile, all that I aspire to evoke, in so far as sympathetic study may avail, is the idea of Christ presupposed in the Gospels and present, before and after the Gospels were written, to the Christian mind. This image is highly complex. It had been formed simultaneously in many minds having different habits and tendencies, as appears in the Gospels themselves. Moreover this image essentially represents a mystery, the mystery of God-in-man.

The essential thing in the idea of Christ is that he was one with God and that he furnished the means whereby men might become one with God. These are not simple concepts. There are extended discussions of "Messiah," "Son of God," and "Son of Man." But, whether for Christ or for man, union with God does not mean loss of identity. "Christ is one with his Father, by a perpetual generation that establishes a distinction of characters without permitting any conflict

of will; for when you are completely derivative you are at once entirely different from your source and necessarily in harmony with it. . . . We have not, like the Son of God, a single and changeless parent. Therefore this ideal of perfect unity within ourselves and with our source, while deeply appealing and realized at moments in certain respects, is devastating to our complex and vacillating interests. We must first unify ourselves, which is in itself a great mutilation; and then we must cling to the abstracted power that supports this heroically integrated self, ignoring all the other forces that control our fortunes. We may thus save our souls, or the part of them that we have chosen to cultivate; but it will be at the cost of dire conflicts with the world and with everything that we have condemned in ourselves. This is the cross that we must take up if we would follow Christ. This is his flesh and his blood that we must eat and drink if we are to have any part in his resurrection." In the latter part of this passage, and in others like it, we have a philosophy of asceticism, but an asceticism which demands the disciplining of the self and a kind of human *kenosis* but not the self's annihilation.

It is impossible to quote even fair samples of the luminous sentences which appear throughout the book. But take these: "The fruit of humility is reconciliation with the truth." Jesus, at the wedding feast at Cana, "was consenting to a small kindness, when the premonition of torment and of glory filled his whole sky." "Jesus had loved the poor; and the poor, in loving Jesus, would lose the craving to become rich." And one final paragraph:

> The idea of Christ, however, is not that of an ordinary man who has been more or less inspired by the spirit of God. . . . He was really God become man; and that is a very different idea from that of a man living, as far as his nature permits, in an ideal union with God. Nevertheless, it is the model of Christ, not that of the godly man, that inspires the Christian, and that is really adequate to guide a free and heroic spirit. This is the crux of my problem. It is what forced Catholic theology to adopt the doctrine of a supernatural human soul; so that only a sacrificial human life and a sanctified human body should be truly natural to man and compatible with his perfect happiness. This implies the sacrifice of almost everything that a man ordinarily cares for, including his animal will and his animal self. Can this be the universal vocation of spirit? . . . In its essence, the vocation of spirit is that of Christ: to be incarnate, to suffer and do what is appointed, and to return, at every recollected moment, to perfect union with God. In its instances, however, the vocation of spirit is different in each soul. . . . Life radiates in every way it finds open, and in each species, in each art, flowers into a different glory. To impose one form, one method, one type of virtue upon every creature would be sheer blindness to the essence of the good. Spirit, then, I reply, has its essence in a single vocation, to reflect the glory of God; but this vocation can be realized only in special and diverse forms. Christ, being God, reflects God's whole glory. For us, also, there is no difference between God entering into us and our attaining our special perfections and reflecting our appointed part of the good.

There still remains the question as to whether this picture of Christ represents, for Santayana, the record of something which existed in history or merely an "idea" that sprang from "the innate poetic fertility" of the evangelists and the church. Either view could be supported by quotations from the book, but I believe Santayana would say that the two are not true alternatives.

W. E. GARRISON.

CORRESPONDENCE

Quakers Need Workers in India

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The American Friends Service Committee has been cooperating with British Friends in maintaining a relief and rehabilitation program in Bengal, India, for the past two and a half years. This undertaking began with a feeding and medical project during the terrible Bengal famine of 1943-44, but during the past year the major effort has been extended toward rehabilitation projects. These projects represent an endeavor to improve the living conditions and thereby render these people less susceptible to future famines. The rehabilitation program involves the organized application of simple skills to the task of meeting basic needs and includes village cooperatives which promote basket-making, weaving, fishing, boat-making, farming, etc. They are so established that the various projects will continue to operate on their own after the assistance and guidance of the Friends has been withdrawn. The work is non-political and non-evangelistic, a ministry of reconciliation and good will.

This type of undertaking requires considerable imagination and skill in a technical sense plus the personality and human understanding that make possible working with people and guiding them in rehabilitation projects. The greatest need at the present time is for persons skilled in crafts who will help develop village industries, persons experienced in organization and management of cooperatives, an agriculturist who can institute improved farming methods or techniques, a nurse or doctor, preferably with public health experience, and qualified business or relief administrators. Three vacancies need to be filled immediately and five additional persons should be found soon to replace five members of the unit who will be returning from India about the first of the year. The need for personnel is very critical since the unit is sending its experienced relief workers to other parts of India to serve in key positions during the famine emergency; this means the rehabilitation program in Bengal will only be continued with a skeleton staff. Married couples without children are acceptable. The term of service is two years minimum. The work is voluntary, and no salary is paid, but maintenance, insurance and dependency needs are met. Those interested should write to Personnel Office, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Philadelphia, Pa. ERIC W. JOHNSON.

Teaching the Incidental

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Where should the emphasis be in this furor about weekday religious education? I maintain that a knowledge of Jewish history is of but little more value to living a Christian life than a knowledge of American history would be. A Christian is one who believes in Jesus Christ as his personal Savior, and who consciously patterns his life after the two ideals Jesus gave: love to God and love to neighbor. All the rest is just incidental, helpful but not necessarily essential.

First Presbyterian Church, H. OSCAR STEVENS.
Utica, Ohio.

Church Power No Threat

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am only a lay member of the holy Roman Catholic Church, and a grandmother, and doubtless am not nearly so well educated as you. But some of the things you wrote as beliefs in

the Roman Catholic Church any child preparing for his first communion would deny. Our Lord Jesus Christ said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." So no one need ever worry that the Roman Catholic Church would ever hold too much power, for we believe that she is only supreme in faith and morals.

Gloucester, Mass. HENRIETTA A. BASSETT.

Protestant and Catholic Laymen

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have just finished reading your discussion of the Roman Catholic Church, and it is a magnificent piece of work. Your criticism of Rome's essential monarchical approach is unanswerable. Your somewhat detailed survey of the program of the hierarchy in America is most illuminating. Your stress upon the tendency to corruption inherent in that form of organization is true, and is sustained by the history of the Roman Catholic Church.

An important item which you did not mention is Rome's basic formalism. The sacraments contain grace, and when received in obedience are automatically effective. The worshiper does not experience this energy, but he trusts the authority of the church that it is real. I notice four major contrasts between the Protestant and Roman approaches to the gospel:

1. Roman layman knows main facts of gospel only, and believes them.
2. He believes also the authority and responsibility of the church.
3. He believes that in obedience to the church, and in contact with its sacraments, he receives grace.
4. He believes that through confession, absolution, sacraments and indulgences he has and does receive both grace and salvation.

In contrast the Protestant (this *was* true)

1. Knows the Bible as a whole—all its mighty narratives, but in particular the story of Jesus.
2. He believes in the authority of Christian truth as a whole, with particular emphasis on Scripture.
3. He believes in both the right and the responsibility of private judgment, and so in the duty of knowing.
4. He is enriched by the conscious experience of the Holy Spirit, and so is indifferent to absolutions and indulgences.

I am sure you have done the Protestant church an immense service in this series. As I see it, the revitalizing of Protestantism is absolutely necessary to further progress in the West. I regard naturalistic philosophy as the blight which has been destroying Western Christian culture since the rise of deism. Deism is human self-sufficiency repudiating the grace of God. It moved from England to France, and became the illumination. It moved to Germany, and became rationalism. It was taken over by the sense-sciences, and became scientific naturalism. Of course there is no room for miracles, free personality, ideals or the future life in such a cramping world view.

Wharton Memorial Methodist Church, Philadelphia, Pa. HAROLD PAUL SLOAN.

We Are All Vulnerable

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have read and reread your able discussion on "Protestantism and the Public School." I am in hearty accord. But I think you did not say enough in the last sentence of your presentation. You conclude: "Until Protestantism awakens to the fact that its position is vulnerable to Catholicism on the one hand, and to sectarianism on the other, its hope of winning America is a blind illusion."

I regret you did not complete that sentence by saying: "And the position of Catholicism is vulnerable to both Protestantism and secularism; and the position of secularism is vulnerable to both Protestantism and Catholicism, and the hope of any of them of winning America seems a blind illusion as long as selfishness controls their policies." For it seems evident that not one of the three, under present conditions, can ever hope to win the American people.

Los Angeles, Calif. FLETCHER HOMAN.

Is Protestantism Mentally Superior?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Despite the great Roman Catholic universities, Protestants still hold the intellectual leadership in America. The scholarship of Protestant theological leaders is far beyond anything that Romanism can boast. To take one instance, look over the religious book list published by the National Conference of Christians and Jews this year. Note how few religious books of significance have been published by Roman Catholic clergy. What recent Roman Catholic priest has published a volume that can compare with Reinhold Niebuhr's *The Nature and Destiny of Man?* Where in Romanism can you find the equal of a Tillich, a Brunner, an H. H. Farmer, a Wieman or the late William Temple? Can Rome boast of such preachers as Arthur Gossip, Paul Scherer, Harry Emerson Fosdick, George Buttrick or Leslie Weatherhead? Many other names could be added to our list of scholars and preachers. I am thinking especially of the many small books that are being published for laymen, books of quality, like Elton Trueblood's, Albert Palmer's and Burnet Easton's. We could go on pointing out similar lists in every field of study, historical, biblical and ethical. Really, I am very serious; I should like to see such a Roman Catholic list. Perhaps my field has been too limited.

And one more thought, in this field of biblical, historical and theological scholarship we do have Christian unity. Like the great hymns, these present-day classic works are used by all clergy, and when we read William Temple we do not worry about his being an Anglican, or Buttrick's being a Presbyterian, or Niebuhr's being an Evangelical.

St. John's Church, Barrington, R. I. W. OWINGS STONE.

A Layman's View

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: May a layman have his say? I speak from long inheritance and experience of Congregational ideology; discipline of nearly forty years as a trial judge; education and stimulation as a reader of The Christian Century from its beginning, resulting in respect for the courage and ability of its editors. With this background I have carefully read and reread the sixth article of Dr. Morrison's current series. It disturbs me greatly. I am well aware that this was intended, and in his challenge to Protestantism there is doubtless great value. But beside concern arising from the material presented is concern because of the belligerent spirit of the article. Could not the subject be treated without such evident emotion?

A reader who did not know otherwise would think that all there is to Roman Catholicism is lust for power pursued without scruple by a cunning and omnipotent hierarchy. We all know intelligent Catholic laymen, loyal to democracy, whom no priest leads by the nose; we know priests who are not puppets of their ecclesiastical superiors. How can such people, who wish to live with their Protestant neighbors in mutual respect, read this article without answering hate with hate? Cannot wholesome truths be told to Protestants in a more objective way, at a time when further conflict between religious groups is fraught with so great danger?

Everybody knows that successful competition of Jewish business men is largely responsible for anti-Semitic prejudice. Let Protestants beware lest chagrin and envy play too large a part in their attitude toward their Catholic fellow citizens.

Minneapolis, Minn. EDWARD F. WAITE.

[Let Judge Waite read the article yet again. Surely he will find no hate in it! It recognizes the great part which Roman Catholicism plays in the life of ecumencial Christianity as "a way of salvation." It is, avowedly, concerned only with another aspect of Catholicism, but one which cannot be considered lightly in treating the American future.—THE EDITORS.]

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Southern Baptists Seek $40 Million

Include Sum of $3,500,000 for Relief in Budget Adopted at Centenary Convention in Miami, Fla.

MIAMI, FLA., May 18.—When the last of 8,000 "messengers" has been registered tomorrow, it is expected that the Southern Baptist Convention will have broken all records for attendance. This is the centenary convention of the denomination, since no meeting was held last year. The chief business of this meeting concerns our postwar program. The executive committee, after conferring with the general executives, state secretaries and editors, proposed to raise in the next year $3,500,000 for relief and rehabilitation and $10,000,000 for current expenditures and capital demands. This has no reference to state objects, which if added would make the total Baptist effort for the coming year exceed $40,000,000, exclusive of local church expenditures. These recommendations were enthusiastically adopted.

McCall Is New Executive

Duke McCall was inaugurated as the new executive secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention. This former president of the Baptist Bible Institute of New Orleans is a young man of recognized ability. He succeeds Austin Crouch, whose services in leading the Baptists in paying all denominational debts and in establishing efficient business policies have received suitable appreciation here. Louie D. Newton, minister of the Druid Hills Baptist Church in Atlanta, was elected president for the ensuing year. He succeeds former Gov. Pat M. Neff of Texas. Dr. Newton has won national attention by his efforts for the recall of the Myron C. Taylor embassy at the Vatican.

Score Vatican Embassy

Dr. Newton's strong urging that the convention personally appeal to President Truman for recall of the Vatican embassy received hearty approval. The convention adopted a resolution urging support of the United Nations and decrying the rising militarism of this country. It amended the resolution by asking Baptists to work for the improvement of U.N. through the ultimate achievement of world government. The whole attitude of this meeting toward Russia is shown by its agreement with the appeal of W. H. Rushbrooke, president of the Baptist World Alliance, whose offices are in London. He deprecated communism and counseled patience and avoidance of attitudes which might lead to a third world war. President-elect Newton is expecting to leave for Russia in July. He has led in the collection of 400,000 food and clothing parcels which have been sent to Russia by Southern Baptists.

Membership Increases

Reports made to this convention reveal that Southern Baptists now have 26,134 churches with a membership of 5,865,554. The grand total of all contributions for all purposes in the past year was $98,458,425. Total circulation of our state papers is over 700,000. The Sunday School (publication) Board did a total business of $4,500,000 last year, an increase of a half-million dollars. The assets of the Relief and Annuity Board have passed the $10,000,000 mark. This convention approved a proposal by which the board will provide an annuity for widows of deceased ministers. Over 100 new foreign missionaries are under appointment. Last year a record sum of $3,592,000 was given by Southern Baptists for foreign missions.

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON.

Liston Pope Quits P.A.C.

Yale Professor Heads Group Resigning in Protest against New Goals

NEW HAVEN, May 16.—Charging that the Connecticut citizens' political action committee "has fallen into control of a group in whose real goals we have no confidence," Liston Pope, professor of social ethics at Yale Divinity School, has resigned as chairman of the organization. Eight other leaders have also withdrawn for the same reason, among them Albert Outler of Yale, H. C. F. Bell and Elmer Schattschneider of Wesleyan, and Horace Fuller of the University of Connecticut.

The Connecticut committee was founded early this year to organize independent voters in support of liberal candidates in the fall elections. It launched its activities with a dinner here at which Henry A. Wallace, secretary of commerce, was the main speaker. The statement issued yesterday by the withdrawing group said, among other things: "While dissociating ourselves from this particular organization, we at the same time reaffirm our devotion to the fundamental principles on which the movement was founded . . . and pledge our support to candidates in the coming elections who can be relied on to support a vital democracy at home and a peaceful and just order in international affairs." Dr. Pope has retained his chairmanship of the Religious Associates of the National Citizens P.A.C., which is composed of some 700 ministers and religious leaders from many states.

Religious Groups Purchase Surplus War Stocks

After complaint to the Senate committee investigating the national defense program, the Joint Catholic-Protestant Purchasing Committee in India, representing American missionaries, has announced that pricing regulations have been adjusted satisfactorily. The committee was formed to purchase surplus U. S. property for use on the mission fields. The Senate group has instructed field commissioners to give missionaries a 40 per cent discount on all purchases, and to refund money collected in the past without allowing such discount. Altogether, the committee has spent some $2,500,000 for surplus stocks in Europe, most of it coming from depots in France and Belgium. The material will be mainly dispensed as relief to needy war victims.

Federal Council Urges Rationing

Executive Committee Discusses World Food Crisis—Reisner to Study Food Production in India

NEW YORK, May 18.—The executive committee of the Federal Council urges the government and the churches to take immediate steps to meet the crisis of world hunger. At its meeting this week it urged the government (1) to establish consumers' rationing as a means of systematic sharing with the hungry peoples of the world; (2) to procure grains, fats and meats at the source and to ship them immediately to the starving people overseas; and (3) to stop all use of grain for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages until the food shortage is over. It asked the churches to begin voluntary rationing of wheat flour and fats and to encourage food production and the planting of gardens to the fullest possible extent.

* * *

To Meet in Seattle

The date and place for the 1946 biennial meeting of the Federal Council was set by the executive committee as Dec. 3-5 at Seattle. An international church conference on world order is called for London, Aug. 4-7, 1946. John Foster Dulles and Walter W. Van Kirk were named to represent the churches of this country in the London meeting. The executive committee approved the constitution and by-laws of the merger of church relief organizations, which is to be named "Church World Service." It deferred until its June 11 meeting consideration of what it will do with the situation created by the renewal of the Vatican embassy and what it will say in its Labor Sunday message.

* * *

Agricultural Missions Hold Meeting

The board of directors of Agricultural Missions, gathering here Monday for their annual meeting, heard H. R. Tolley, chief of the agricultural economics bureau of the department of agriculture, explain and urge cooperation with the food and agricultural organizations of the United Nations. Dr. Tolley pointed out that "two-thirds of the world's people never have had enough of the right things to eat . . . . A 25 per cent increase in food production throughout the entire world would provide sufficient food for all, if it could be distributed equitably to all." Another speaker, W. Don McClure, telling of the mission work in the lower Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, declared: "It took a revival, a flood, a plague of rats and a famine of major proportions to shake us out of lethargy and shock us away from conventional missionary methods and develop plans for a great experiment in missions among the Anauk tribe . . . . In village after village we found 100 per cent of the population ill of various diseases, and set to work first to heal, then to feed and improve growing methods." An important

TO *that vast audience of enlightened and informed Christians who read* *The* CHRISTIAN CENTURY—

Dear Friends:

I feel sure that you share my increasing concern about the present trends in world affairs and the lack of decisive influence on the part of the Christian Church. If not by any means a negligible factor, it certainly is not the vital force in the world of today that it should be - that it must be if humanity is not to sink back into the Dark Ages.

And yet we can show a real advance over the situation as it was at the close of the last war. At that time the machinery for making Christian unity real had not been found - now we have a network of co-operating Christian centers in various parts of the world and there are ninety-three non-Roman communions associated in the World Council of Churches. And the World Council, though still technically in process of formation, already has a record of fine work accomplished and a program-in-action which, if successfully carried out, should go a long way toward fulfilling the heart's desire of so many of us for a Christian world order.

The chief lack at present is a greater "spread" of the ecumenical movement among the multitude of believers, the men and women who form our Christian public. Too much of the responsibility and planning for the future is left to a handful of devoted pioneers. They resemble a detached company trying to hold a vital bridgehead with inadequate numbers.

There are three ways in which you can reinforce this united effort and help build it into the consciousness of millions of our fellow-Christians in America: by making a personal gift; by getting a group or society in your church or community to do so; or by securing a gift from the congregation of your church as a whole.

This letter is a frank request for your interest and support. It is only a feeble echo of Christ's plea for one-ness among those who love Him, yet I trust that it will not fall on deaf ears. Come and share now in this great enterprise, once described by Archbishop Temple as "the great new fact of our day."

Faithfully yours,

Henry Smith Leiper

Executive Secretary

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

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action of the directors was the vote to release John H. Reisner, executive secretary of the organization, for a six months' tour of India. He leaves next October to study ways of rehabilitating rural and village life.

* * *

Farm Problems Studied By Church Group

Representatives of the rural interests of Protestant denominations, meeting last week in the first international conference on the church and land tenure, discussed the church's relation to the economic, social and political implications of family farm ownership. Called by the town and country committee of the Home Missions Council of North America, the rural missions cooperating committee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the Federal Council of Churches and the International Council of Religious Education, the conference was attended by rural church leaders, representatives of foreign and home mission interests, agricultural economists and others from the United States, Canada, China, India, the Philippines, Syria and the Balkans. In addition to church leaders, speakers included representatives of the U. S. department of agriculture and of the Anglo-American Caribbean commission. M. R. Zigler of Elgin, Ill., chairman of the Church of the Brethren Service Committee, presided.

* * *

Return of Prohibition Demanded

The New York East conference of the Methodist Church this week called for the return of national prohibition. The stand was taken following a report by Frederick C. Allen, chairman of the Board of Temperance, pointing out that Americans annually spend $7,000,000,000 for liquor and only $910,000,000 for church purposes. "Eventually a federal law purposing to eliminate alcoholic liquor can be the only effective solution," Mr. Allen declared. A report was also adopted commending Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam for his recent radio address in behalf of planned parenthood and for his "good-spirited pronouncements against the unjust treatment of Protestant minorities by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and his challenge to that hierarchy to forsake its alignments with fascist governments in Europe and South America." The report also deplored the recent filibuster in Congress against the Fair Employment Practices Committee and called on the Methodist hospital in Brooklyn and other institutions of the Methodist Church to implement the recent pronouncements of the Federal Council of Churches by ending racial segregation and discrimination.

* * *

And So Forth

Emory Ross, executive secretary of the Africa committee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, and Mrs. Ross, left here Wednesday by Pan-American plane for Lisbon, Portugal, on the first leg of a tour which will take them into eight African countries in the interests of mission rehabilitation and education.

The Flatbush Unitarian Church, of which Karl M. Chworowsky is minister, sent a telegram approved by the congregation to President Truman urging him to reinstate rationing of food.

J. Henry Carpenter.

Britain Wins India's Trust

Cabinet Mission Convinces People that Labor Government Means to Grant Independence to Colony

Tiruvalla, May 1.—The whole of India is anxiously waiting to learn the outcome of the conversations at Simla between the Moslem League, the All-India Congress and the British cabinet mission. During the month that the cabinet mission has been here, the principal discussions have revolved around the extravagant demands made by Mr. Jinnah, coupled with threats of civil war in case they are not conceded. Jinnah's stand that the Moslem League will not enter into any discussion of details of the future constitution of India unless Pakistan is first unequivocally granted seems to have undergone a change in the last week. At least, he agrees to discuss an alternative. There is widespread confidence among the Indian public in the sincere determination of the British cabinet to start India on the path of independence. It is believed that Jinnah's intransigence will not be allowed this time to stand in the way of achieving the purpose the cabinet has set before it regarding India.

* * *

Hoover Visit Lightens Prospect of Famine

The visit of Herbert Hoover to India underlines the dangerous food predicament in several parts of the country. His conclusion is that the present meager ration of cereals has begun to break down over extensive areas. He says we cannot depend upon the northern hemisphere for food, nor upon America, since supplies are most needed this month. Supplies therefore are to be drawn from Siam, and possibly from Burma, Java and Australia. The prime minister of Java offers to send India 500,000 tons of rice providing shipping facilities are made available. The National Christian Council of India has set up famine relief committees in each province to report to a central committee at Nagpur. The council has also cabled to America and Britain asking for emergency funds for relief.

* * *

Says India Will Save Freedom

Wide publicity has been given in the Indian press to a statement made by John Mackenzie, distinguished Scotch missionary who after many years' service here has returned to Edinburgh, about his conviction that an Indian national government will grant religious freedom. Dr. Mackenzie said that in recent years there has been a very serious breakdown of good will in India, but that a great deal of good will still remains, as Christian missionaries can testify. Many missionaries are keeping on friendly terms with Indian political leaders and others who exercise authority and influence in the Indian government, and have been able at times to help toward the establishment of happier relations.

* * *

Expect Return of Prohibition

Now that Congress party ministries have come into power in eight provinces with absolute majorities, there is every prospect that prohibition will soon be reintroduced in these provinces. What the popular minister in charge of excise in Bihar said recently is applicable to the other seven provinces also: "The Congress is pledged to prohibition and to do all it can to stop this immoral traffic [in drink]." Although the yield to the Bihar government from duties on liquor, opium and other drugs amounted to about half the total of the provincial revenue, measures will have to be devised to make up the deficit by other means, the minister said.

* * *

Archbishops Prescribe Dress Standards

The Roman Catholic archbishops of Travancore and Cochin, two contiguous Indian states with large numbers of Roman Catholics, issued this month a pastoral letter prescribing certain rules with regard to the mode of dress of Christian women. The archbishops observe that there has been a growing tendency on the part of Christian women to exhibit themselves in dress which outrages the cardinal tenets of Christianity. They view with alarm and dismay the contagion of fashion, which they call a new phase of paganism that is working havoc throughout the world. After explaining the disruptive forces at work, the archbishops prescribe a minimum standard of dress for Christian women, a standard based on "the conception of Oriental womanhood." The jacket or blouse must cover half the hand, and the lower portion of the garment must reach at least below the knee. The clergy are called upon to enforce this rule by all means, "whether by compulsion, admonition, threats or advice."

P. Oomman Philip.

[Now that censorship appears to have been lifted in India, Mr. Philip will send his dispatches by air mail. This story, it will be noted, came through in a fortnight, while his wartime dispatches usually required two to three months.—The Editors.]

Discuss Mental Health

Question Occupies Place on Program of Virginia Convocation of Churches

Richmond, Va., May 14.—Perhaps the most important session of the recent Virginia convocation of churches was that devoted to the state's mental hygiene problems. Samuel W. Hamilton, psychiatrist with the U. S. public health service, told the convocation that he was encouraged by the fact that the church is voluntarily concerning itself with the mental health of the people. He pointed out that there are 500,000 mental patients in the nation today, and that the number is constantly increasing. Joseph E. Barrett, commissioner of the state mental hygiene board and superintendent of Eastern state hospital, set forth the great need for trained workers and declared that the modern mental hospital must become also a teaching and research institution. Ruel L. Howe, professor of practical theology at Virginia Theological Seminary, urged religious workers to serve as liaison officers between the individual and agencies in the community seeking to promote better living. The convocation adopted resolutions commending

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LOCATIONS	DATES	DIRECTORS
Helen Bush School, Seattle, Wash.	June 22-July 1	Paul Johnson, 3959 15th Ave., N.E., Seattle 5.
Reed College, Portland, Ore.	June 12-22	Howard Kessler, 2117 N. E. 13th Ave., Portland 12.
Mills College, Oakland, Calif.	June 23-July 2	Tom Hunt, Mills College, Oakland 13.
Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.	July 3-13	Richard Mills, Box 966, Pasadena 20.
Friends University, Wichita, Kans.	June 5-14	Guy Gebhardt, Friends Univ., Wichita, Kans.
Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa	June 1-8	Par Danforth, AFSC, Drake University.
University of New Hampshire	June 21-29	Leslie Barrett, 1374 Mass. Ave., Cambridge 38, Mass.
Keuka College, Keuka Park, N. Y.	August 10-19	E. A. Schaal, ASFC, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Woman's College, Greensboro, N. C.	June 17-22	Tartt Bell, Box 27, Woman's College, Greensboro, N. C.
Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio	July 5-15	John Kavanaugh, 12 N. 3d St., Columbus 15, Ohio
Albright College, Reading, Pa.	July 5-14	E. A. Schaal, AFSC, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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University of New Hampshire	June 21-29	Leslie Barrett, 1374 Mass. Ave., Cambridge 38, Mass.
Wm. Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa	July 1-7	Par Danforth, Drake Univ., Des Moines 11, Iowa
Camp Chesapeake, N. E. Md.	August 14-21	Spahr Hull, AFSC, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Camp Carondowanna, Zelionople, Pa.	June 24-July 1	Spahr Hull, AFSC, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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the state general assembly for making possible the staffing of Piedmont sanatorium at Burkeville with Negro personnel, and the city of Norfolk for adding six Negroes to its police force.

* * *

Lutherans Meet in Richmond

The Atlantic regional meeting of the Lutheran Welfare Conference was held in Richmond May 2-4. Bertha Paulssen, professor of sociology and psychology at Gettysburg Theological Seminary, advocated the adoption of a constructive policy to save the American family unit, which she said is being changed by the complexities of industrial life from its traditional function as an institution to a companionship. J. J. Scherer, Jr., pastor of First English Evangelical Lutheran Church, Richmond, declared that the four major social problems of today—broken homes, alcoholism, mental illness and labor-management discord—cannot be cured by legislation, and urged a new approach to them from the Christian viewpoint. He cited Alcoholics Anonymous and the Yale clinic as the institutions best meeting the problem of alcoholism, and advocated that Virginia use $1,000,000 of the state alcohol beverage control fund to establish a state institution for scientific treatment of alcoholics.

* * *

Deplores Baptist Refusal To Cooperate

Theodore F. Adams, pastor of First Baptist Church, Richmond, created a sensation recently when in an address to the Dover Baptist association he declared that it is a tragic thing that Southern Baptists have refused utterly to cooperate with the Virginia council of churches or the World Council. "A world is dying physically and spiritually," he said, "and do we think we can do it all [relief work] ourselves through Baptist channels? The Baptists of other countries are cooperating. Southern Baptists must find some way to do it, too." Dr. Adams recently returned from a mission to study conditions in Europe. He is vice-president of the state council of churches, and his own church contributes to the council's budget. Four other Southern Baptists serve the council as members at large, but without denominational representation.

* * *

State Welfare Work Restricted

A serious situation faces the state board of public welfare now that the general assembly has failed to increase its funds, which are matched on a dollar-for-dollar basis by the federal government. The board has had to make a cut of 7 per cent in its grants to counties, although many families who formerly depended on allotments from relatives in the armed forces are now on the public assistance rolls. A similar critical situation faces the city welfare board, which has announced a probable 20 per cent decrease in old-age assistance and aid-to-the-blind allotments.

F. W. BURNHAM.

C. O.'s Give Heavily For Relief

Out of the $5 each receives monthly, c. o.'s in Mennonite-administered camps have since Dec. 1 donated an average of 17 per cent for the relief of war sufferers, Religious News Service reports.

Says Education Is 'Not Enough'

Birmingham-Southern Lecturer Scores It for Failure to Stand Against Misuse of Modern Techniques

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., May 17.—In this year's Rushton lectures at Birmingham-Southern College here, Howard Mumford Jones of Harvard University scored education for its failure to take a strong and wise stand against the tide of war, the misuse of technology and the growth of nationalism. These three forces, he said, are strangling education; the enemies that threaten us are of our own creation. "They are the techniques which we ourselves have perfected and allowed to be perverted for unworthy ends. The basic problem is the dark heart of man; education alone is not sufficient to make man what he ought to be." In discussing the social and cultural costs of war, Dr. Jones said: "Wars of large magnitude have been followed by anti-intellectual movements in art, literature and philosophy; by waves of crime, sexual license, suicide, venereal disease, delinquency among youth; by class, racial and religious intolerance; by abandonment of orderly processes for settling disputes and changing laws; and by a decline in respect for international laws and treaties."

* * *

Some Negroes Vote in Alabama Primary

What was apparently the largest primary vote in the history of the state was polled last week. As a result of a Supreme Court ruling, Negroes voted for the first time in the primary. However, the Negro vote was not large, probably because the state's cumulative poll tax would have required some to pay as much as $36 before being able to vote. Recently several Negro war veterans voted in a wet-dry election in Colbert county. Negro as well as white veterans are exempt from the state poll tax.

* * *

C. I. O.-Endorsed Candidate For Governor Leads Race

In the primary election, James E. Folsom, endorsed by the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O., led the five candidates in the race for governor. He will now face in a run-off the present lieutenant governor, Handy Ellis, who was supported by practically all the daily papers and was expected to win. "Big Jim," as Folsom is called (he is almost seven feet tall), is 37 years old, an insurance man. He was the only member of the Alabama committee at the 1944 Democratic convention to support Henry Wallace for vice-president. He was also the only one of the five gubernatorial candidates to come out for repeal of the poll tax. Before the election, he followed the strategy of Texas and Louisiana governors by touring the state with a hill-billy band. It is reported that he spoke to more people than any other gubernatorial candidate in the state's history.

* * *

Wallace Speech Injected Into Primary

A recent speech by Henry Wallace at Tuskegee Institute furnished the ammuni-

tion in Hugh DuBose's primary campaign for representative from this district. Over the radio and in his political advertising, DuBose called the speech an insult to the south and accused Wallace of deliberately fomenting racial strife anew to the detriment of both whites and Negroes. He also attacked Governor Arnall of Georgia for saying in a recent speech in Birmingham that letting the Negro vote will improve democracy in the south. "If Mr. Wallace would read the holy books of Christianity and Judaism," he said, "he would find that all the leaders of our spiritual theocracy and all the old prophets and all the apostles of our Lord and Savior have been white men." The editor of the Montgomery *Advertiser*, who heard Mr. Wallace's speech, had no word of criticism of it. He pointed out that Mr. Wallace was appealing for more education and religion and for full employment as means of ending racial strife. Both DuBose and Luther Patrick, present incumbent, were defeated in the congressional race by Laurie Battle, a 33-year-old war veteran who had never run for any office before.

* * *

Governor Protests 'Outside Interference' on Race

Smarting under the refusal of the governor of Ohio to grant an extradition request for a Negro who had escaped from Kilby prison in Alabama 11 years ago, Governor Sparks has paid his respects to "outside interference from would-be reformers." He doesn't think the "holier than thou" attitude of other sections of the country can help the south in its attempt to solve its delicate social and racial problems. Declaring that if the Negro in this case had been a white man there would probably have been no question raised over the extradition, Governor Sparks insisted that there is no such thing as racial intolerance in this country. "It is sectional intolerance," he said. "We don't seek to force the Negro to mix with the white race socially and we don't expect the Negro to insist on it, either. . . . We respect the rights of the colored race in the south, and a wholesome relation between the races exists until racial hatreds are fanned by agitators who have the rights of neither race at heart."

* * *

And So Forth

Wet forces are trying to add several of Alabama's 50 dry counties to the 17 wet ones. They won a few weeks ago in Colbert county. In Bibb county the drys won by two to one, and in Talladega county they won by a large majority.

Army Day as celebrated in Birmingham was a "flop." Although the program at Legion Field, complete with brass hats and a crack band, was played up widely in the newspapers, it is reported that the crowd consisted of fewer than 100 persons. Many soldiers were heard to say that they did not go because they had already seen all the army display they wanted.

ACTON E. MIDDLEBROOKS.

Offer School for 'Y' Leaders on Campus

A "president's school" for cabinet officers of college Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s is to be sponsored by the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago during the first term of the summer quarter. Joint sponsor is the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, which has carried on similar schools at Union Theological Seminary, New York, for the past five summers. Courses will be offered in theology and American culture, the Christian life, and program leadership in the college "Y."

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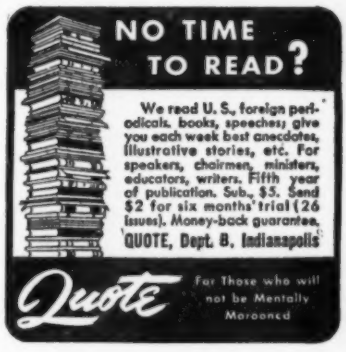
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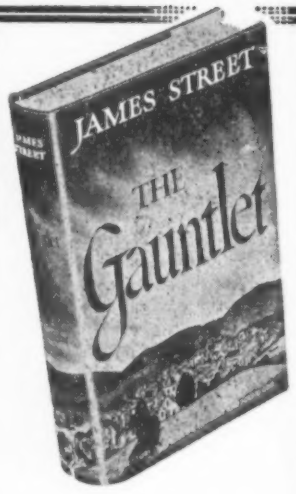

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Social Agencies Prove Effective

New Head of Chicago Community Fund Sees Worth Demonstrated in War-Stricken Towns of Europe

CHICAGO, May 20.—The experiences of European communities disorganized by war revealed the importance of effective social agencies, declared Fred B. Hoeler, newly appointed director of the Chicago community fund, in an address at the annual meeting of the local church federation's social welfare department. Mr. Hoeler, who has recently returned from working with displaced persons in Europe under UNRRA, said that the creation of institutions to serve local communities is the great task on the Continent today. Describing the eagerness with which communities in the United States sought new workers for their defense factories without being equipped to house them or to meet their other needs, Mr. Hoeler contrasted with that unpreparedness the organization with which the people of England met apparently unendurable bombing raids and persisted as communities. More than 500 ministers, social workers and relief administrators attended the federation meeting. They heard Virgil E. Lowder report that through efforts of the department of social welfare, social workers and agencies are becoming increasingly aware that social needs are also spiritual needs.

* * *

Veterans Administration Chaplains Meet

Protestant, Catholic and Jewish chaplains from veterans' hospitals in Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin met here last week for the first conference in a program of training to be conducted by the chaplaincy division of the Veterans Administration. Harlin M. Campbell, chief of the Chicago branch of the division, was in charge. Instructors were Chaplain Donald Beatty, formerly stationed at the Elgin, Ill., state hospital, now in charge of the chaplaincy division's training program; Russell Dicks, chaplain at Wesley Memorial hospital here; William Andrew of Elgin state hospital; James E. Doyle, chairman of the veterans' committee of the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Chicago; Dr. Herman Chor of the Northwestern University medical school; and Dr. Delmar Goode, chief medical director of the Chicago branch of the Veterans Administration.

* * *

'Y' Secretary to Work In India

Lawrence Burr, high school and boys' work secretary of the Wabash avenue branch of the Chicago Y.M.C.A., has sailed for India as the first Negro "Y" secretary sent out from the United States to Asia. He will serve as community work secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Madras. Like the other 64 American-trained world service secretaries at work under the international committee of the "Y," he will train local leadership to carry forward the world-wide work of the organization.

* * *

And So Forth

Lee J. Gable, director of leadership education for the Evangelical and Reformed Church, has been appointed director of leadership education and church school administration of the International Council of Religious Education, and will begin his work Aug. 1. He succeeds Herman J. Sweet, who has been named director of Christian education for the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in southern California.

Northwestern University is spending $500,000 to erect 20 Quonset huts, 50 prefabricated metal cottages and 25 prefabricated dormitories to house 656 unmarried students and 58 families of professors or students. Under a city ordinance, the buildings must be torn down within five years. The university has under construction a $2,000,000 apartment hotel with 208 units for married veteran students and faculty members. It should be ready for occupancy next year. CHARLES L. VENABLE.

Objectors on Strike

Civilian Public Service Men Stop Work in Protest Against Forced Labor

LOS ANGELES, May 14.—Eighty conscientious objectors of the Glendora C. P. S. camp 30 miles east of Los Angeles have gone on strike. Men in three other camps have joined the work stoppage. The Glendora men are voluntarily packing food and clothing for European relief and writing letters to accompany the 11-pound packages. They have already mailed more than two tons of packages, paying some of the postage out of their own pockets. The strike began over the proposed transfer of two of the Glendora men to a disciplinary camp. In their statement of the reasons for their action, the strikers say they "oppose the continuation in peacetime of conditions that we once accepted only because of the national wartime emergency," and protest against doing "unpaid forced labor." Albert W. Palmer, former president of Chicago Theological Seminary, agrees with the c. o.'s, saying: "They are required to work for the government practically as slaves, with no pay, no insurance protection and no provision for their dependents. These are real grievances and a disgrace to our civilization."

* * *

Students to Aid Migrants

Under the Home Missions Council, which has an office at 3330 W. Adams Blvd. in this city, college students will work in 20 projects this summer in the San Joaquin and Santa Clara valleys. They will conduct church vacation schools and supervise recreation for migrant families who are now returning to farm labor. The students will live in cooperative households, work-camp style, receiving a subsistence salary. They need toys, dolls, children's books and craft material.

* * *

Japanese Suffer Hardship

Forty leaders representing most of the important agencies and groups working with Japanese-Americans met recently to consider means of relieving hardship among these people. Deportations of nisei who under pressure renounced their American citizenship during the war continue. The American Council on Race Relations de-

clared on May 2 that deportations are separating families and depriving minor children (many of whom are citizens) of fathers or mothers. It urges telegrams to congressmen demanding that precipitate and often unannounced arrests and deportations be halted where hardship results. It characterizes as "inhuman" the action of United States Attorney General Clark in ordering "immediate deportation of all deportables," calling this a "tragic anti-climax to evacuation and relocation." With the WRA going out of business, this claim is justified.

* * *

Greatest Need for Food To Come Next Year

Homer Morris of the American Friends Service Committee pointed out here last week that despite its present tragic condition, the greatest need in Europe lies at least a year ahead. He points out that there are at least 11,000,000 orphans in Europe west of the Russian border for whom continuing care must be provided. Quoting former President Hoover's statement that 770,000,000 people are caught in the world-wide famine, he said that "to waste food in these days is a crime." "You can't build a stable world on starving men, women and children," he said. "Hitler came to power out of the kind of hopelessness we have to prevent." ALLAN A. HUNTER.

Kansas Fights Repeal

Drys Join Forces to Resist Drive that Would End State Prohibition Laws

ST. JOSEPH, MO., May 17.—Temperance forces in traditionally dry Kansas are marshaling to resist efforts now under way to repeal the present state laws which prohibit the sale of liquor. The state council of churches is giving active leadership in the campaign, and two recently discharged chaplains, L. V. Harmon and Charles V. Trent, have enlisted in the effort. Prominent in current Kansas church news is the series of rallies being sponsored by Kansas youth councils; successful meetings were held recently in Topeka and Iola and in Dickinson county. Interdenominational youth fellowships throughout the state are facing the vital questions of the world's moral and spiritual welfare.

* * *

Church Sets Up Committee To Coordinate Plans

First Congregational Church, Kansas City, of which William C. Burton is pastor, believes that its central planning committee offers a solution to the problems local churches face as a result of increasing urbanization. The committee represents all organizations of the church and seeks to coordinate and facilitate their work without duplication of effort and conflict in meetings. The spiritual influence of the committee, which holds prayer as its guiding ideal, is felt throughout the activities of the congregation.

* * *

Kirby Page Challenges St. Joseph Ministers

In a recent address to the St. Joseph ministerial alliance, Kirby Page, author and lecturer, declared that obliteration bombing as practiced in the recent war is morally indefensible. Concerning atomic bomb attacks he said: "We must be ready in the future to witness the massacre of some 50,000,000 people within the space of a few hours. Here is presented a clear issue for the Christian church. Atomic warfare is absolute contradiction of the way of the cross. You can't follow both; you must choose which way you will go." Dr. Page declared that the time has come for the Christian church to decide for or against following Christ and making his will the law of a united world society. . . . Christians and Jews of St. Joseph gathered recently for a service of brotherhood and good will held in the Central high school auditorium. Discussions were led by Malcolm A. Matheson, regional director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. "Making America Safe for Differences" was the theme of the service, at which the winner of the recent young people's essay contest on tolerance was announced.

* * *

And So Forth

Frederick E. Robb is the new pastor of First Presbyterian Church and Merle A. Mitchell of Roanoke Baptist Church in Kansas City.

"One Christ for One World" was emphasized in uniform sermons delivered in 44 Christian churches in the Kansas City area during April.

Young people of the Baptist, Disciple, Congregational, Methodist, Evangelical, Episcopal and Presbyterian churches in Kansas City's country club district met May 5 for a great rally in Wornall Road Baptist Church. The speaker was young Lawrence A. Bash, pastor of Wyatt Park Christian Church, St. Joseph.

Guy Howard, "walkin' preacher of the

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Ozarks," recently conducted a preaching mission at First Christian Church, Kansas City. Services continued daily for three weeks. ADIEL J. MONCRIEF.

Who Created Hitler?

is the title of a 12-page pamphlet, containing excerpts from speeches and many important facts and figures, showing how Hitler was encouraged and assisted by men in public life who wanted to use him to overthrow the Soviet Government of Russia.

Speech by Duncan Sandys, formerly of the British Foreign Office, who married Winston Churchill's daughter:—"I urge that Germany be given freedom to rearm. Our Government should conclude an agreement with Hitler by which, in return for his undertaking to renounce all designs on the British Empire, we should see to it that the great energies, ambitions and enthusiasms of the New Germany are directed into channels where they will not clash with the essential interests of Great Britain. We should lend sympathetic ear to Germany's legitimate claims and aspirations in other fields."—House of Commons, May, 1935.

Speech by L. S. Amery, Sec. of State for India:—"While it is no part of our policy to foster a quarrel between Japan and Soviet Russia, it would be no concern of ours, if such a quarrel is developed into war, to prevent Japanese expansion in Eastern Siberia. . . . Our policy in India, our policy in Egypt, stand condemned if we condemn Japan."—House of Commons, 1933.

Said Neville Chamberlain and Lord Halifax:—"Today there is a new Italy, which, under the stimulus of the personality of Mussolini is showing a new vigor and new efficiency in administration and in measures to improve the condition of the people."—Rome, Italy, 1939.

Winston Churchill wrote in Collier's, September, 1938:—"Had there been no war and no aftermath of war, Signor Mussolini would still have been great."

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Urges Church to Check on State

Finnish Archbishop Appeals to Lutherans Throughout Scandinavia—Denmark Lacks Adequate Housing

ROSKILDE, DENMARK, May 1.—The church must be the watchman of the state, says a pastoral letter recently published by Archbishop Lehtonen of Finland and distributed not only in Finland but throughout the rest of Scandinavia. The letter maintains that the church must judge the moral principles involved in all national activities, since Christianity is particularly adapted to undergird true democracy. It sets forth the necessity for the Lutheran churches in the four Scandinavian countries to feel their responsibility for the special tasks of world Lutheranism, chief of which is to preach the gospel of God's grace and the word of the cross. True faith in God, Archbishop Lehtonen says, goes hand in hand with a realization of the true worth of man. If faith is weakened, man's worth decreases; that is why, he says, Christianity has seen the necessity of a social renewal everywhere. The letter asks that there be no talk of separating church and state in Finland, so that the church can continue its task of combining preaching with social work. Ninety-six per cent of the people of Finland are Lutherans.

* * *

Denmark Faces Housing Shortage

Copenhagen's serious housing problem is to be discussed at a convention to be held by the Danish Church Philanthropic Union in June. Delegates have been invited to attend from Sweden and Norway. Even before the war, Copenhagen had 20,000 apartments with more than two persons per room. Twenty-seven thousand children were listed as living in one-room apartments, of which the city had 2,000. Ten per cent of all apartments in Copenhagen had no indoor toilet facilities. The convention of the Philanthropic Union will also study the problems of Danish charity institutions, consider means of cooperation in welfare projects by the Scandinavian countries, and hear an address by the Danish minister of social work.

* * *

Magazine Considers Church And Workers

The Church and the Workman is the title of a new monthly published in Denmark for the purpose of forging a stronger link between the church and labor. An editorial in the first issue calls for bringing the gospel into the homes of Danish workers by laboring men who themselves have gained a conception of what that gospel really means. In the same issue, a bus driver discusses the importance of Bible reading. He quotes Acts 2:42, pointing out the blessing of sharing the word of God with others. Such a communion, he says, gives strength for daily living.

* * *

Report on Danish Aid To Churches Abroad

Danish contributions during 1945 to the fund for the support of suffering evangelical churches in other countries of Europe have been announced. A total of 204,000 crowns was collected, in addition to a special fund of 177,000 crowns for Finnish children. From the fund, 80,000 crowns have already been sent to Norway; 15,000 to France; 10,000 to Belgium and 10,000 to Spain. The crown is worth approximately 45 cents.

* * *

Appeal for More Deaconesses

The decline in the number of deaconesses in Denmark is deplored in the recently published yearbook of St. Luke's House, Copenhagen, one of the three Danish deaconess homes. There are today only 307 deaconesses connected with St. Luke's, a decline of 14 since 1944. The work done by the home has had to be curtailed, and the deaconesses who remain are overworked. The yearbook asks for explanations of the decline in the appeal of deaconess work for young people. Does the fault lie, it asks, with the home itself or with the girls of today?

* * *

And So Forth

On March 28 a ceremony at Saint Eric Cathedral, Upsala, Sweden, celebrated the opening of the shrine of Eric the Holy, national saint of Sweden, whose relics now lie in the cathedral. Eric, who reigned as king of Sweden for a time, died in 1160. The ceremony was conducted by Archbishop Eidem and attended by the royal family.

Friends of the Danish Mission Society are planning to raise 125,000 crowns in connection with the society's celebration of its 125th anniversary June 17.

K. E. JORDT JÖRGENSEN.

Nebraska Church Observes 15th Year on Radio

First Plymouth Church, Lincoln, Neb., this Easter celebrated its 15th year of radio broadcasting. Services and carillon music are broadcast direct from the church through the facilities of station KFAB.

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Church Relief Flows to Europe

Material Aid Branch of World Council Handles Big Shipments—Institute for Training Opens in Fall

GENEVA, May 8.—When the World Council of Churches set up a material relief division half a year ago, the seriousness of Europe's material needs was not widely recognized. Today the new program is rolling like big business. From a warehouse here, within a week's time, Austria got 400 sacks of flour, 4,000 yards of muslin, 50 bales of blankets and 5 sewing machines. Czechoslovakia, which had already received flour, got 3,500 yards of muslin, 50 bales of blankets, 5 sewing machines. Germany got 600 sacks of flour and 10,500 yards of muslin. Similar shipments of goods, from the United States or from army surpluses, will shortly be made to Hungary and Poland. Such transfers through Switzerland represent only a small part of the council's material aid, which is largely financed by American churches.

* * *

Russians Permit Church Relief

The Russian zone of Germany has just been opened to outside material aid from the churches. Protestant and Catholic relief workers are, significantly, represented on the German distribution committee in the zone. The World Council has been assured that recipients will be given the names of donors and that its aid will go to institutions of the Protestant Hilfswerk. As a starter, the council is sending 43 tons of Czech sugar, now in Basle, to the Russian zone, and an equal amount to the Hilfswerk headquarters at Stuttgart. The eagerness of American Military Government for private aid was indicated by the recent meeting in Berne called by George Clark, zonal chief of public assistance, to explain how food could be sent. Frank Northam, young British Methodist accountant who has been with UNRRA in London and with the British food mission in Washington, has arrived to be director of the World Council material aid division. S. C. Michelfelder is shifted from director to chairman of the divisional committee, so that he may have more time for his new duties as executive secretary of the Lutheran World Convention.

* * *

Locate Building for Training Institute

The World Council has taken a five-year lease on the Chateau de Bossey, 10 miles from Geneva, for the new Ecumenical Institute, made possible by a gift from John D. Rockefeller. The first of the courses, including Bible, evangelism, youth leadership, contemporary church history and modern social, political and intellectual movements, will be from October through December. Sixty to 70 young persons will live at the chateau and, besides classes, will have informal discussions with leaders from Geneva. The allotment for the United States is four students, but emphasis at the beginning is to be on reaching young lay men and women of the countries most affected by the war, such as ex-prisoners of concentration camps.

* * *

World Meeting of Christian Youth in July 1947

The first of several meetings at the Chateau de Bossey will be one to plan a world conference of Christian youth, now set for July 1947, probably in Oslo. As with the 1939 Amsterdam conference, the World Council, the World Student Christian Federation and the world organizations of the Y. M. and the Y. W. C. A.'s are sponsors. Plans call for a meeting of 1,300 young people between 18 and 30, of whom two-thirds are to be under 25. The theme of the meeting will be, "One Lord for One World." Its five "great purposes" will be rediscovering Christ, rebuilding fellowship, facing the world situation, finding the job to be done and planning campaign strategy.

* * *

Plan Peace Meeting This Summer

Meanwhile the World Council is going ahead with plans for a meeting of its new international relations commission near London in August and for the first world-wide assembly meeting in 1948. The commission for a just and durable peace in the

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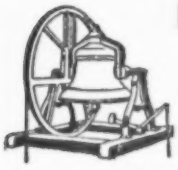

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United States has been asked to take charge of planning this year's meeting in cooperation with the Geneva office. The 1948 assembly will consider its theme, "The Order of God and the Present Disorder of Man," from four viewpoints: the church as an expression of God's will; new methods of Christian teaching to replace old evangelistic techniques; the relation of the church to the disorder of society, not only as to society's healing but with a view to its whole reconstruction; and the relation of the church to world order, including the problem of atomic energy.

* * *

And So Forth

Impressed by reports of their help to war victims, Methodist Bishop Paul Neff Garber told the annual conference of Swiss Methodists at Berne that he believed they had given more relief aid per capita than Methodists in the United States.

J. Hutchison Cockburn, director of the World Council's reconstruction department, in the course of a trip to Greece and Italy discussed with the Vatican the possibilities of cooperative work for refugees and displaced persons. He learned such cooperation would be possible only at local levels.

ROBERT ROOT.

Correction

An editorial paragraph in The Christian Century for May 1 stated that both morning and evening papers in the state of Delaware failed to report a resolution adopted by a presbytery on the Vatican embassy. Information from Delaware shows that the resolution was reported by the evening paper; a staff member states that the morning paper did not report it because the item had already appeared in the evening paper. We regret the mistaken statement in our editorial.

The Church Roll

Stanley I. Stuber, national director of public relations for the Northern Baptist Convention, on May 10 was elected president of the National Religious Publicity Council, which is composed of directors of publicity and editorial writers of the major Protestant denominations.

Albert Osborn, Salvation Army territorial commander of Great Britain, has been elected international general of the Salvation Army. He is the sixth man to head the organization in its history.

B. L. Hummel, chairman of the town and country committee of the Home and State Missions Planning Council of the Disciples of Christ, has gone to China at the request of Chiang Kai-shek to serve as an agricultural extension adviser to the Chinese government.

According to information from L. W. Goebel, president of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, as reported in the *Lutheran*, Martin Niemöller is to visit the United States this summer. It is probable, says Dr. Goebel, that he will make a speaking tour under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches.

J. Leighton Stuart, president of Yenching University, and William P. Fenn, field secretary of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China, are reported by Religious News Service to have sailed to resume their interrupted duties. During the war, Dr. Stuart was interned by the Japanese and Dr. Fenn taught in the unoccupied part of China.

Recent deaths in the field of religion: James Duncan MacNair, Methodist minister who retired in 1930 as senior ranking chaplain of the navy, on May 4 .... Carter Helm Jones, nationally known Baptist clergyman and orator and at one time president of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, on May 6 at Lynchburg, Va.

For Overseas Relief

The following contributions will be forwarded to Church World Service for relief work under church auspices in Europe and Asia:

Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Nielsen and Margaret Nielsen, Omaha, Neb.	$ 15.00
Union Service, Wilton, Me., Methodist and Congregational Churches	18.00
Mr. and Mrs. Harry F. Frisbie, Spencer, N. Y.	90.00
Joint offering, Church of Naserine, First Christian Church, First Presbyterian Church, First Methodist Church, Carlsbad, N. M.	95.14
In memory of T/4 Richard S. Hubbard, U. S. Army, Pikesville, Md.	5.00
The Hunters, Lansing, Mich.	85.00
Ella E. Pohle, Hollywood, Calif.	10.00
Robert W. Northrup, Hastings, Neb.	15.00
C. E. Spalding, Salina, Kan.	80.00
Forum Class, First Methodist Church, Longview, Tex.	15.00
Rose Bower, Rapid City, S. D.	8.00
H. F. Shimeall, Des Moines, Iowa	10.00
St. Paul's Reformed Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.	50.41
Trinity Methodist Church, Terre Haute, Ind.	66.05
	$ 566.19
Previously acknowledged	$11,159.01

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores
M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Badman's Territory (RKO) *Melodrama.* Texas sheriff's foray into no man's land of Oklahoma panhandle gives us chance to meet the James brothers, Belle Starr, the Daltons, Sam Bass—all very fine fellows in leisure moments—plus a crusading newspaper girl. That apparently is the only purpose of the *confusing* plot. M, Y

Danger Signal (War.) *Melodrama.* When one of two sisters belatedly realizes, with help of psychiatrist friend, that the charming roomer in their home is a scoundrel, she plans to murder him, fails in the nick of time. An *unpleasant* tale with psychological implications, melodramatic but so effectively presented as to seem plausible. M

Devotion (War.) *Drama* recounting writing years of the Bronte sisters. Authentic atmosphere; true to essential facts, but presuming and Hollywoodish in invention of romantic triangle to explain them. *Interestingly* done, with effective minor characterizations, particularly that by Arthur Kennedy as alcoholic brother; marred by fantastic "dream" interpolations. M, Y

Miss Susie Slagle's (Par.) *Drama* in lives of medical students who live in Miss Susie's boardinghouse. Episodic in method, this is restrained, *likable*, unpretentious fare. M, Y

A Night in Casablanca (UA) Marx Brothers. *Farce.* Nazi agents are confused, apprehended after typical blunderings by the comic trio, who after five years away from screen are back in traditional guise. *Amusing slapstick*, with musical interludes by Chico and Harpo. Pretends to be no more than uninhibited nonsense. M, Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Anchors Aweigh, Bells of St. Mary's, Marie Louise, Our Vines Have Tender Grapes, What Next, Corporal Hargrove?

For Mature Audience: Colonel Blimp, From This Day Forward, The Last Chance, The Lost Weekend, Pride of the Marines, Rhapsody in Blue, The Seventh Veil, The Silver Fleet, The Southerner, Spellbound, The Spiral Staircase, The Story of G. I. Joe, They Were Expendable, A Walk in the Sun. 5-29-46

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"Combines scientifically critical technique and warmly sympathetic religious insight. This combination of qualities is due to the author's genuine religiousness and his conviction that 'there can be no true historical understanding of the Bible which is not also devotional, or religious, or theological'." *The Pastor* $1.75

America and the New Leviathan. "It not only threatens to devour our liberties, but has already begun to devour them. It not only threatens to demoralize our democracy, but has already begun to undermine it. Its encroachments on the domains reserved by our Constitution to 'the people' have actually proceeded far toward the totalitarianism which we vainly imagined our late war was waged to destroy . . ." *Charles Clayton Morrison*

The New Leviathan

by PAUL HUTCHINSON

"Like an alarm bell in the night"

"The one institution that is capable of dealing adequately with the New Leviathan is the Church of Christ. The struggle will be a desperate one and will require the full resources of the church to defend, preserve and maintain the way of life taught by Jesus Christ. Dr. Hutchinson's book is like an alarm bell in the night. It is anything but pleasant reading, but it is vastly needed, for it is a clarion call to action while the day of opportunity is ours and it is not yet too late." *The United Presbyterian*

"As a draught of spring water"

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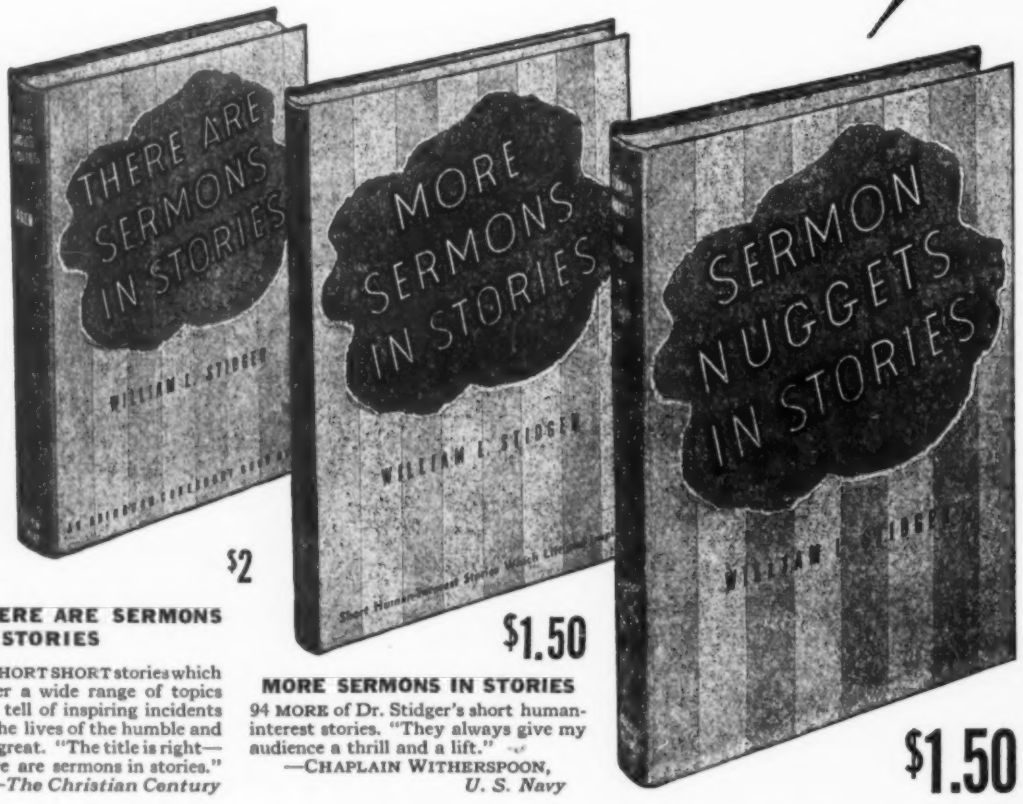

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